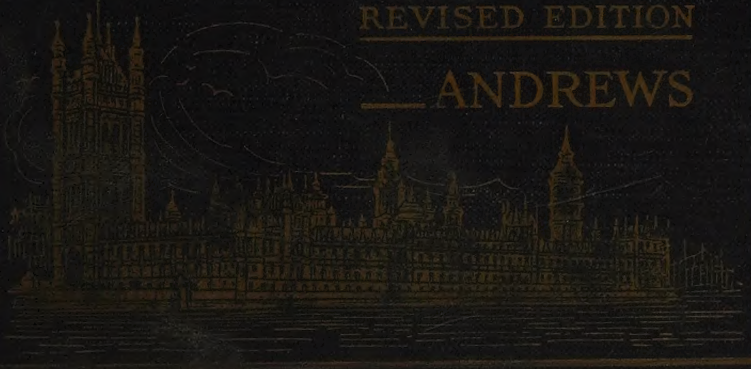
SHORT HISTORY OF ENGLAND

REVISED EDITION

ANDREWS



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Alfred, the Great
Jan Smuts
Black Prince

Henry Sixth
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Henry IV I & II
Henry V
Richard III

Wood

362 - 71

Westminster Abbey

ALLYN AND BACON'S SERIES OF SCHOOL HISTORIES

A SHORT HISTORY OF ENGLAND

REVISED EDITION

BY

CHARLES M. ANDREWS

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PREFACE.

This volume aims to present within a reasonable number of pages the main features of English history from the earliest time to the present day. It retains on a somewhat smaller scale the essential characteristics of my larger work, with many omissions of details and some additions, chiefly of a geographical and biographical nature.

I have tried to tell a clear and simple story, tracing in a continuous narrative the development of the people and institutions, first of England, then of Great Britain, then of the United Kingdom, and finally of the British Empire with its many colonies, dependencies, and dominions. To do this in such a manner as would be interesting, instructive, and scholarly has been my intention throughout. The text is accompanied with a large number of newly selected illustrations and an ample supply of maps. The elaborate bibliographies contained in the larger work have been omitted and only a brief, selective list has been retained.

The narrative is brought down to the year 1925, and is supplemented by chapters dealing with Great Britain's part in the Great War and the government of the British Empire at the present time. It contains also many opinions and statements not to be found in the larger work.

C. M. A.

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HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

INTRODUCTION.

1. England. — England is a small country, not much larger than the state of New York. It forms a part of the island of Britain in the northwestern corner of Europe. Yet England is the head of the British Empire, a dominion more than three times as large as the United States. It has led the world in commerce for the past two hundred years. It has helped greatly in the development of industry, and has contributed more to the growth of good government than any other nation in the world. It has proved a greater colonizer than ancient Greece and a greater lawgiver than ancient Rome.

2. The British Isles. — England occupies the southern and Scotland the northern part of the island of Britain, while Wales is a broad peninsula on the west coast of England. England, Wales, and Scotland are known as *Great Britain;* with Ireland they form the *United Kingdom*, which has an area about equal to New England, New York, and New Jersey. In addition to these two great islands there are many small islands and islets, of which the most important are the Channel Islands, off the coast of France, the Isle of Wight off the south coast of England, and the Isle of Man between northern England and Ireland.

In historical importance England has almost eclipsed the other parts of the British Isles. This superiority is due partly to physical and geographical conditions and partly to the character of the people who have dwelt there.

3. Location. — The position of the British Isles has had an important influence upon the English people. The narrow

strait which separates them from the Continent has often saved them from invasion and from entanglement in Continental affairs. It has relieved England from keeping a large standing army, such as most European countries are compelled to maintain, and has enabled the English people to give their time more freely to commerce and manufacture. On the other hand, the

LAND MASSES OF THE GLOBE.
Showing England's position near their centre.

nearness of the British Isles to the Continent has kept this people in touch with Continental civilization. England has had an advantage in this respect over Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, because, lying nearest, it has been the first to be influenced by Continental ideas and to profit from Continental trade.

4. Commercial Advantage. — England is situated at the centre

of the two great land masses of the globe and thus at the centre of the commerce of the modern world. Good harbors and navigable rivers have provided cheap and easy means of trade. No place in England is more than seventy miles from the sea or more than ten miles from a harbor or a navigable river. Such an opportunity has given to the English that incentive to discovery, colonization, and trade possessed by the ancient Greeks.

5. Climate. — England lies in the latitude of Labrador and yet enjoys the climate of the Carolinas or of Oregon. This remarkable fact is due to the southwest winds which blow from the south Atlantic waters nearly all the year. Moreover, its island situation gives it a fairly equable climate, as the ocean always modifies the temperature, making it warmer in winter and cooler in summer. The ocean winds also bring moisture, so that England almost never suffers from drought. In this respect England, because of her easterly location, has the advantage over the other parts of the United Kingdom, for these ocean winds really bring too much moisture, the larger part of which is received by Ireland and Wales, making their climate too damp for successful agriculture.

6. Surface. — The land of England is everywhere attractive; there are to-day no useless bogs, as in Ireland, and no barren mountains, as in Wales. In the south and east are the lowlands which are among the most productive agricultural regions in the world. Tourists viewing this green landscape, with picturesque cottages, luxuriant vines, and slow flowing rivers, unite in calling England a veritable garden. The lowland pastures are well suited for cattle grazing, and the uplands have always been famous for sheep raising. Farther north are clay deposits, which furnish material not only for brick making, but also for the great "potteries" whence come the dishes for half the world. In the north and west are the great mining districts, the vast coal fields; and in the mountains in the centre and the rugged cliffs of Cornwall in the southwest, the rich deposits of iron, zinc, tin, copper, and lead, the mineral resources

GRASMERE IN WESTMORELAND. *From a photograph.*

A typical English scene, showing the beauty of the landscape.

which have made this land one of the greatest manufacturing regions of the world.[1]

7. The People. — But all these advantages of nature and position could not alone have made English history important. The greatest factor in English history is not the climate, the soil, or the mineral products, but the people who have occupied this land, a people composed of Celts, Anglo-Saxons, Danes, and Normans, whose courage, love of freedom, instinct for government, and other sterling characteristics have combined to develop some of the finest race qualities in the world.

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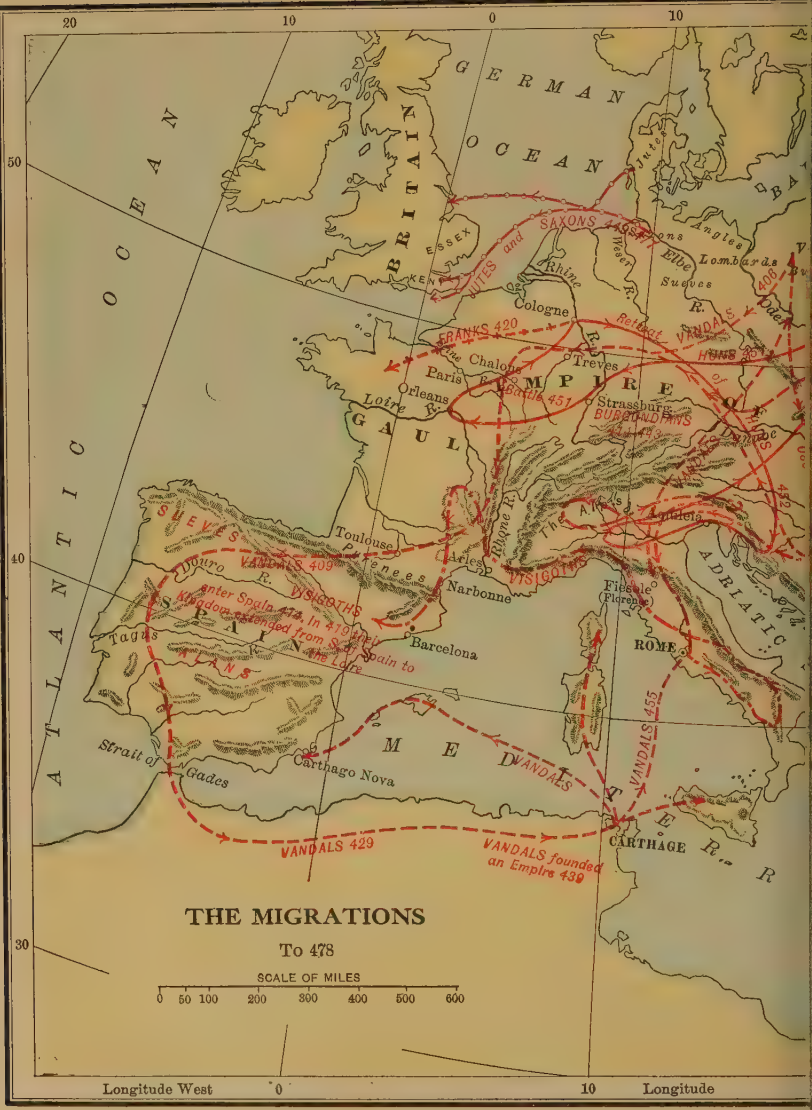
[1] Centuries before Christ, the Phœnicians sailed through the Mediterranean Sea and out into the Atlantic to get tin from Britain. Wales has valuable mineral deposits, but owing to lack of fuel, they have not been developed as rapidly as those in England. The importance of the Welsh mineral products is, however, rapidly increasing, and Wales is growing in wealth and population.


20
10
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ATLANTIC OCEAN
GERMAN OCEAN
BRITAIN
ESSEX
KENT
JUTES and SAXONS 449
Rhine R.
Cologne
Elbe R.
Angles
Saxons
Lombards
Sueves
FRANKS 420
Chalons
Treves
Paris
Battle 451
Orleans
Loire R.
EMPIRE OF THE WEST
Strasburg
BURGUNDIANS 413
GAUL
Rhone R.
Arles
Toulouse
Pyrenees
SUEVES
VANDALS 409
Douro R.
VISIGOTHS
enter Spain 412, in 419 their Kingdom extended from S. Spain to the Loire
Narbonne
Fiesole (Florence)
ADRIATIC
ROME
Tagus R.
SPAIN
Barcelona
MEDITERRANEAN
Strait of Gades
Carthago Nova
VANDALS
VANDALS 455
CARTHAGE
VANDALS 429
VANDALS founded an Empire 439
THE MIGRATIONS
To 478
SCALE OF MILES
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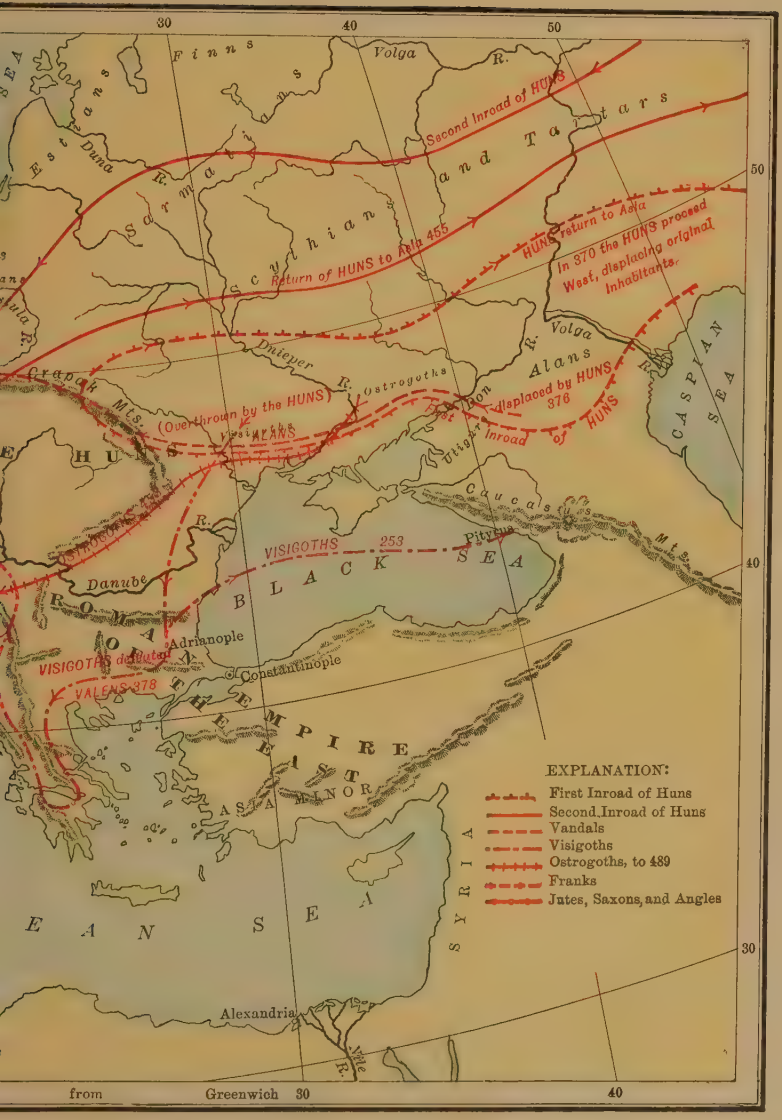

30
40
50
Finns
Volga R.
Second Inroad of HUNS
Esthonians
Duna R.
Sarmatians and Tartars
50
Scythians
Return of HUNS to Asia 455
HUNS return to Asia
In 370 the HUNS proceed West, displacing original Inhabitants.
R. Volga
Dniester R.
Ostrogoths
Alans
CASPIAN SEA
Crapack Mts.
(Overthrown by the HUNS)
Visigoths
displaced by HUNS 376
Visigoths Inroad of HUNS
HUNS
Caucasus Mts.
R.
Pityus
VISIGOTHS 253
BLACK SEA
40
Danube
ROMAN EMPIRE
Adrianople
Constantinople
VISIGOTHS defeated
VALENS 378
EASTERN EMPIRE
ASIA MINOR
EAN SEA
SYRIA
EXPLANATION:
First Inroad of Huns
Second Inroad of Huns
Vandals
Visigoths
Ostrogoths, to 489
Franks
Jutes, Saxons, and Angles
30
Alexandria
Nile R.
from Greenwich 30
40

to Roman civilization and guarded them by camps or fortresses. Near the roads they built country houses or villas of stone, and often equipped them with heating and bathing apparatus, and adorned them with mosaic floors and wall-paintings. Although many Romans crowded into Britain, yet the total number compared with that of the Celts was small. The upper class of the native Britons became Roman, thriving towns grew up, industry was developed, commerce flourished, grain was raised and exported, and the arts of the Continent were introduced. But even the southern portion of Britain was never completely subdued by the Romans, while in the north their control was always only temporary in character. Except for the solidly built roads and villas, the walls and inscribed monuments, and the names of their more important settlements, the Romans left but few permanent traces of their occupancy.

From a photograph.

OLD ROMAN RAMPART IN NORTHERN ENGLAND, CALLED "HADRIAN'S WALL."

10. The Migrations. — During the fourth and fifth centuries a movement took place in western Europe known as the "Wandering of the Nations." Tribes of barbarians passed out from their old homes in the north and northeast, and moved into the territory of the Roman Empire. One group of these peoples, however, did not go southward, but westward,

and they travelled not by land, but by water. The Angles, Saxons, and Jutes, sailing out into the North Sea, sought the island of Britain, and became the ancestors of the greater part of the Englishmen of to-day.

11. Anglo-Saxons and Jutes. — The Angles, Saxons, and Jutes lived in the northern part of Germany, far away from

From a photograph.

Roman Arches, Lincoln.

the influence of Roman customs and ideas. The Jutes probably lived in the northern part of modern Denmark, in the district of Jutland; the Angles in the region south of the Jutes; and the Saxons at the base of the Danish peninsula in western Holstein. The lands which they occupied were densely wooded, damp, and cold. Rivers were almost the only highways; clearings in the forest the only dwelling-places. No Roman, except possibly an occasional merchant, had ever penetrated the country, and no missionary had converted the people to Christianity. At the time of which we are speaking,

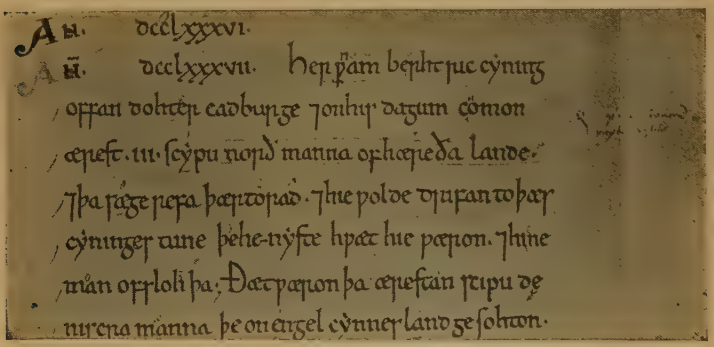
these peoples were still barbarians and heathen, living under primitive conditions, indulging in rude pleasures, delighting in adventure, and given to acts of cruelty and bloodshed.

12. Their Political and Social Organization. — These tribes had a very imperfect and unformed political organization, of which we know very little. At their head were kings, selected from certain definite royal families, who were surrounded by followers, strongly bound to their king by personal ties. The follower was expected to fight till death for his lord, to share his captivity, and to join with him in hunting and other amusements, feasting, drinking, and the like. The lord gave treasure to his men, provided them with swords, offices, and land. As the king and his followers were bound by military and personal ties, so the mass of the people were bound by ties of religion and family relationship. They had nothing to do with government, and little to do with fighting; their position was very inferior to that of the kings and chiefs. They lived in villages composed of thatched huts made of wood or turf; and their agriculture consisted principally of yearly ploughings of the soil, and the raising of oats, beans, barley, and the like. All lived on flesh, milk, and grains, and because of the wet climate and their rough life they were heavy drinkers of mead and ale.

13. Knowledge of Britain. — For a hundred years before their migration to the British Isles these barbarian kings and their followers had been seafarers and plunderers on the coasts of the North Sea. As early as 364 A.D. they had been heard of in Britain, and the Romans there had established a special official, the "protector of the Saxon shore," to guard the eastern coast against their attacks. During the remainder of the fourth century the unhappy Romans were beset on the south and east by the Saxons, who were rapidly becoming familiar with the route to Britain, and by the Celts on the west and north.

14. Withdrawal of the Romans. — Until 410 A.D. the Roman emperor was able, in some degree, to protect his subjects in Britain; but after a terrible invasion of the empire by a horde

of barbarians in 406, the Roman legions were withdrawn, and the Romanized Britons — the Brythonic Celts — were left to defend themselves. The Romans had never trained these natives in the art of defence, so that when the legions returned to the Continent, they were unable to protect themselves. The years that followed, from 410 to 450, were a time of misery and terror: the Saxons continued to infest the coasts of the



From a manuscript in the British Museum.

PART OF THE ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE.

TRANSLATION:

In this year (787) King Berhtric took Eadburge, King Offa's daughter, to wife. And in his days first came three ships of Northmen from Hæretha* land. And then the reeve rode thereto and would drive them to the king's vill, for he knew not what they were, and they there slew him. Those were the first ships of Danish men that sought the land of the English race.

* A district on west coast of Norway.

east and southeast; the Gaelic Celts continued their invasions from the north. In despair the Britons made a last appeal to Rome; but in vain. Thrown entirely upon their own resources, they resolved to play off one set of barbarians against the others, Teutons against Celts. Their chief leader, Vortigern, summoned to his aid two Jutish chiefs, Hengist and

ROMAN BRITAIN
about 400
Boderia Aestuaria
(Firth of Forth)
Oceanus
Germanicus
Tina Flumen
(Tyne)
WALL OF HADRIAN
ANTONINUS
Iuna Fluvius
(Solway Firth)
MONA (I. OF MAN)
Eboracum
(York)
Oceanus
Hibernus
Mancunium
(Manchester)
Deva
(Chester)
Lindum
(Lincoln)
Abus Flumen
(Humber)
Metaris Aestuarium
(The Wash)
Londinium
(London)
Aquae Solis
(Bath)
Venta Belgarum
(Winchester)
Portus Dubris
(Dover)
VECTIS
(I. OF WIGHT)
ENGLAND
in 550
ANGLES
SAXONS
JUTES
BRITONS OR WELSH
SCOTS
PICTS
PICTS
Firth of Tay
Firth of Forth
Lindisfarne
Bamborough
Sabrina Estuary
I. MAN
R. Humber
York
Godmundingham
Deva
Lincoln
R. Severn
Elmham
EAST ANGLES
Corinium
Gleawing
Isca Silurum
London
Colchester
Sledgebury
Anderida
I. OF WIGHT
ENGLAND
in 584
Lindisfarne
Bamborough
R. Tees
R. Humber
Godmundingham
Lincoln
Nottingham
Chester
Bangor Iscoed
R. Severn
Elmham
EAST ANGLES
Bedford
Grievum
Cirencester
Colchester
London
Sledgebury
Winchester
Exeter
I. OF WIGHT
ENGLAND
in 627
Lindisfarne
Bamborough
R. Humber
Godmundingham
York
Loidis
Heathfield
Lincoln
Chester
Retford
Bangor Iscoed
Masserfield
Leicester
R. Severn
Elmham
EAST ANGLES
Hedford
Gloucester
Caerwent
Cirencester
Colchester
London
Sledgebury
Dyrham
Bath
Winchester
Exeter
I. OF WIGHT

Horsa. Then tradition has it, and the tradition is probably genuine, that these Jutish chiefs and their followers, landing on the island of Thanet, quarrelled with those who had invited them to come, and seized the region later called Kent. Thus began the conquest.

15. The Anglo-Saxon Conquest. — Following the Jutes came the Saxons, who were to be the true founders of England. Landing on the southern shore, in 477, according to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (p. 34), they carved out a kingdom of their own; and during the following twenty years groups of independent Saxons fought against the Britons of the southwest, and won the region about the old Roman city Venta, the modern Winchester. In the meantime, and afterward also, came the Angles, who by 526 had occupied the east coast, forming eventually the north folk and south folk, in East Anglia. Others of the Angles gained a foothold farther north, and in 547 founded the kingdom of Bernicia, and in 588 that of Deira, covering the coast from The Wash to the Firth of Forth. Thus, before the close of the sixth century, the Teutonic tribes were in possession of the coast of Britain from the Firth of Forth to the Isle of Wight, and were ready to push their conquests into the interior of the island.

16. Conquest of the Interior. — To the newcomers from the densely wooded shores of the North Sea, Britain seemed a land of great fertility. It is little wonder that they soon advanced to complete the conquest. Leaving the coast, they followed the river valleys and open places, and occupied the land between fen and forest, wood and dike. The resistance of the Britons was desperate,[1] the conflict lasting a century and a half. In the beginning of the struggle the Britons were distributed along the western coast in (1) Strathclyde (western Northumbria), (2) North Wales, and (3) Cornwall and Devon — called West Wales. In 577, after many hard-won victories,

[1] One of the Celtic leaders was Arthur, famed in story as the lord of the Knights of the Round Table.

the West Saxons broke the resistance of the Britons in West Wales by occupying the valley of the Severn, thus cutting off the Britons of the southwest from those of North Wales and Strathclyde. The Angles, moving westward from the central coast, established the kingdom of Mercia, — the March-land, or border-land. In the north, under Ælfrith, king of Deira and Bernicia, they attacked the Britons of Wales and the north, in 616, and defeated them in a mighty battle at Chester. This victory further destroyed the unity of the Britons by cutting off those of Wales from those of Strathclyde. As no effectual resistance could longer be made by the Britons, it was now only a matter of time until the Anglo-Saxons should become the dominant race of the island. The Britons withdrew to Cornwall and the mountains of Wales, and to this day their descendants are proud of their Celtic blood.

17. **Early Organization of the Tribes.** — During the first two centuries of the settlement the conquerors of Britain were not single powerful tribes establishing single tribal kingdoms, but rather dozens of small tribal groups, each under its own war-chief or king. Some of them were groups of warriors, kings, and followers; others possibly groups of kin-families, that is, families connected by ties of blood, composed of men, women, children, and slaves.

But the continued warfare of a century and a half effected changes in the organization of these peoples. In nearly all the groups the king became more powerful. He was still selected as of old from a royal family which was supposed to be descended from the gods. He was awarded the largest portion of the conquered lands and the largest share of the booty. As king he was supported by his people and received maintenance from them in the form of services and products of the soil. These gifts and services became more and more definite as time went on, and came to be looked upon as special royal rights that the king could grant to others if he wished.

The king was the leader of his tribe in war and a judge among his people. As war-leader he had about him his

followers, called *gesithas*, who in time became the oldest nobility of the kingdom; as judge he was accustomed to enforce justice upon the guilty and to move frequently from place to place, himself and his companions being housed and fed by his people. He occasionally summoned the chief men of the tribe as councillors, and the latter sat as a body of *wise-men*, advising the king. Once a year, perhaps oftener, the king gathered the adult men of the tribe in a *folkmôt*. The folkmôt was originally the fighting force of the tribe, because war was the object for which it was summoned, and the settling of disputes, the imposing of fines, and the deciding of questions of peace and war were not undertaken by it. Law making was unknown; life was governed by the customs of the tribe, and authority lay in the hands of the king and his officials, who were his personal attendants and members of his household.

18. Community Life. — Of the local life of the tribe we know very little. The people lived generally in groups, sometimes forming a separate community or village, sometimes clustered about the farmstead of a chieftain. Their common interests were their religion, their amusements, and the tilling of the soil. To each family group was assigned enough land for its support, and this portion, called a *hide*, was not at first a fixed amount, but depended on the nature of the soil. Socially the invaders were divided into three classes: nobles, or *eorls*, whose superiority came from heredity or birth; freemen or *ceorls*, composing the greater part of the tribe; and *slaves*, some brought by the invaders, others obtained by conquest on British soil.

Such were the chief characteristics of Anglo-Saxon life before the year 600. Gradually the small tribes began to merge into the larger. Some were entirely absorbed; some, though retaining their separate names, were subjugated; and others were united for purposes of conquest. Instead of many small groups, a few larger tribal peoples appear: Kentishmen, West Saxons, South Saxons, East Anglians, Mercians, and Northumbrians. (See Maps, p. 10.)

CHAPTER II.

THE CONVERSION OF ENGLAND.

19. Introduction of Christianity by Roman Missionaries: in Kent.—The Anglo-Saxon conquerors of Britain were pagans, adhering to the worship of Woden, and Thor, and Tiu, gods of

From a photograph.

St. Martin's Church at Canterbury, called the "Mother Church of England."

It is built on the site of Queen Bertha's Chapel, where her husband, King Æthelbirht, is said to have been baptized.

war and of the powers of nature. This fact had come to the notice of the great missionary pope, Gregory, when he was a deacon in Rome, and he sent Augustine, the prior of his own monastery, to preach the word of God to the Anglo-Saxon peoples. In 597 Augustine, with nearly forty other monks, landed on the island of Thanet in Kent. He had chosen Kent,

partly because it was the best known and most powerful of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, and partly because its king, Æthelbirht, had married a Frankish princess, Bertha, who was a Christian. Immediately on landing, Augustine sent a message to King Æthelbirht telling the object of his coming; and a few days later the king, who had refused to allow the monks to come into the town, went to the place where they were, and sitting in the open air for fear of magic, listened to the preaching of Augustine. At its close he gave the monks full permission to reside in the chief town of the Kentishmen, Canterbury, and to win as many as they could to Christ. From that day Christianity took root in England, and soon Æthelbirht, his followers, and his people accepted the faith and were baptized. Augustine was made "archbishop of the English nation," and new workers were sent out. But outside of Kent progress was slow. Though the East Saxons and East Anglians, who at that time recognized the overlordship of Kent, outwardly accepted the faith, they did not long retain it, going back to paganism after the death of Æthelbirht in 616.

20. In Northumbria and Wessex. — About thirty years after the arrival of Augustine, Eadwine, king of Northumbria, who had married a daughter of King Æthelbirht received Christianity into his kingdom. His wife was a Christian and had brought to her new home a Christian priest, Paulinus. Through the combined efforts of the queen and Paulinus, Eadwine accepted the faith and was baptized with many of his subjects. Paulinus was made bishop of the new region, and York became the seat of the new faith in the north.

For a few years the worldly affairs of the Northumbrian king prospered. Eadwine extended the power of Northumbria and, as Bæda[1] says, "reduced under his dominion all the bor-

[1] Bæda, commonly known as the Venerable Bede, was born in 673 and spent his life in the Benedictine monastery of Jarrow, dying in 735. He was a man greatly beloved in his day, of wide learning, and influential as a teacher and writer. His reputation chiefly rests on his *Ecclesiastical History of England.*

ders of Britain, a thing that no British king had done before." Through his influence the East Anglians were persuaded "to abandon their idolatrous superstitions," and Paulinus preached the faith through Northumbria. "There was," says Bæda,

From a photograph.

DURHAM CATHEDRAL.

In this cathedral is the tomb of Bæda, with the inscription:

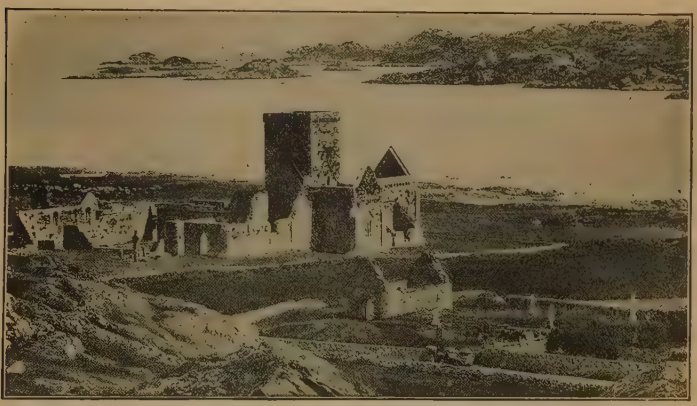
"Hac sunt in fossa
Bædæ venerabilis ossa."

"such perfect peace in Britain that wheresoever the kingdom of Eadwine extended, a woman with her new-born babe might walk through the island from sea to sea without receiving any harm." But in 632 Penda, king of Mercia and champion of the old pagan faith, killed Eadwine in battle, and Paulinus was forced to return to Kent.

This loss to Christianity in the north was balanced by gains

in the south, where the pope had sent missionaries to work among the West Saxons. As a result the king of the West Saxons was converted and baptized, together with his people.

21. Introduction of Christianity by Celtic Missionaries: in Iona, Northumbria, and Mercia. — Owing to the defeat and death of Eadwine of Northumbria, the Roman missionaries for the time being had to confine their work to the south; but a new influence was to make itself felt in the north. During the



From a photograph.

IONA: A GENERAL VIEW OF THE CHURCH BUILDINGS

It was here that St. Columba began his missionary work in Scotland in 563, but none of the buildings is older than the twelfth century.

Roman occupation Christianity had been introduced among the Brythonic Celts, and early in the fifth century it was carried from Gaul by St. Patrick to the Gaelic Celts of Ireland. In the years that followed the Scots, who then inhabited the northern part of Ireland, became the most zealous advocates of Christianity, and not content to work at home, sought other fields in which to spread their faith. St. Columba, sometimes called the father of the Scottish nation, went from northern Ireland in 563 to the island of Iona, where

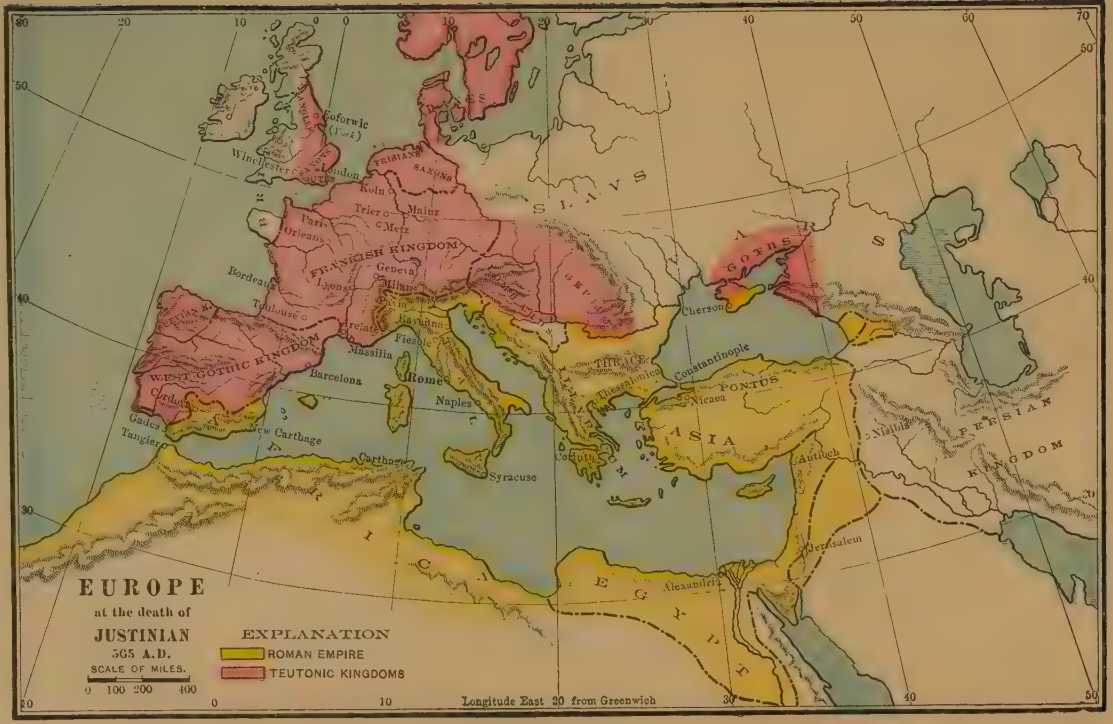
he established a monastery. From this seat as a centre, the Celtic monks carried Christianity throughout southwestern Scotland and founded the Christian church of Scotland.

From a photograph.

St. Martin's Cross, Iona. This and one other cross, Maclean's, are the only survivors of 360 crosses that the island once possessed.

In Mercia after the overthrow of Eadwine, King Penda built up one of the most powerful tribal kingdoms in the land. But Oswald, a Bernician prince, who had been converted to Christianity by the Celtic monks, defeated the Mercians and drove them out of Bernicia and Deira. He then sent to Iona for a missionary preacher and gave to the saintly Aidan, who came, the island of Lindisfarne as a place for a monastery. Other monks came into Northumbria and began the task of converting the people. Simple, humble, devoted to their work, they went out into the country places, carrying comfort into the homes of the Northumbrians and preaching the simple doctrine of humility and charity.

But Penda was still powerful and the struggle between Mercia and Northumbria continued for nine years. Oswald fell in 642, but his work was taken up by his brother Oswiu, who threw the weight of his influence on the side of Christianity. He defeated Penda in


EUROPE
at the death of
JUSTINIAN
565 A.D.
SCALE OF MILES.
0 100 200 400
EXPLANATION
ROMAN EMPIRE
TEUTONIC KINGDOMS
Longitude East 20 from Greenwich
SLAVS
FRANKISH KINGDOM
WEST GOTHIC KINGDOM
GOTHS
ASIA
PONTUS
THRACE
PERSIAN KINGDOM
EGYPT
SAXONS
Coforwic (York)
Winchester
London
Koln
Trier
Mainz
Metz
Paris
Orleans
Geneva
Milan
Bordeaux
Toulouse
Ravenna
Arles
Massilia
Barcelona
Rome
Naples
Gades
Tangiers
New Carthage
Carthage
Syracuse
Corinth
Thessalonica
Constantinople
Nicaea
Cherson
Nisibis
Antioch
Jerusalem
Alexandria

655, in the last great battle between paganism and Christianity, and became in consequence the most powerful king in England.

22. Conflict between the Roman and Ionian Missionaries. — Thus in the south the conversion of the English had been effected by the missionaries from Rome; in the middle and north by those from Iona. The former derived their authority from the bishop of Rome, the pope; the latter from Columba, the bishop of Iona. Both were members of Christian churches, differing from each other in certain matters of ritual, such as the way of calculating Easter and the shaving of the head in the tonsure. The Roman missionaries were fewer in number, but more powerful because they had behind them the growing church of the Continent and because they had sought to convert kings and others politically influential. The Ionian missionaries were more numerous, but they had worked more quietly, preaching the word of God among the people. The representatives of the Roman church had more advanced ideas of the way in which the church should be united under one head and made subject to a single authority than had the Ionian representatives, who with very rudimentary ideas of organization had built up separate churches in each tribe with scarcely more unity than the tribes themselves. As each of the two systems, the Roman with its centre at Canterbury, the Ionian with York as its most influential city, kept extending its influence, there was bound to come a conflict. This conflict was settled at the synod of Whitby.

23. The Synod of Whitby. — By 664 controversies between the two churches had become so frequent that King Oswiu of Northumbria called a synod in the monastery of Whitby. After elaborate arguments had been presented by Wilfrid for the Roman party and Colman for the Ionian, Oswiu turned to Colman and said, "Is it true that Peter has received the keys of heaven, as Wilfrid says?" Colman answered, "It is true, O king." Then said Oswiu, "Can you show any such power given to your Columba?" "None." Then said the king, "Peter is the doorkeeper, and him I will not contradict,

From a photograph.

A Portion of Whitby Abbey as it stands To-day. Whitby, Lindisfarne, and Glastonbury were the three greatest of the 260 Benedictine abbeys in England.

lest when I come to the gates of the kingdom of heaven there should be none to open them, he being my adversary who is proven to have the keys." Thus a momentous decision was made by the king and assented to by his councillors. The English church became henceforth a part of the great Continental church, of which the bishop of Rome was rapidly becoming the recognized head, or pope; and it enjoyed not only all the advantages that came from contact with the more advanced civilization of the Continent, but all the benefits that a more highly organized church system could confer. The Roman system before a century had passed became dominant in England as far north as the region about Edinburgh, and aided greatly in furthering the national unity both of England and of Scotland.

24. Organization of the Church: Theodore of Tarsus. — The church in England had as yet little organization or unity. Thus far each missionary and bishop had worked more or less by himself, and in his own way. There was need of some leader who should bind together the churches of the several kingdoms into a common whole. Such a man was found in Theodore of Tarsus, who in 669 was sent by the pope to England, where he remained for twenty-three years. "This was the first archbishop," says Bæda, "whom all the English church obeyed." Under Theodore discipline was improved and many instances of faulty management were corrected.

Theodore convoked synods of bishops, at which rules were laid down to be obeyed by all the clergy. He increased the number of dioceses and made the bishops more responsible than before for the management of them. He encouraged the clergy to study, to take good care of their parishes, and to enforce the law and the discipline of the great church of which they were a part. The unity thus effected in the church prepared the way for unity among the different peoples and made easier the formation of an English nation.

25. Influence of the Church in England: the Monasteries. — From 600 to 750, while the tribal peoples in the petty kingdoms

were warring against one another, the church stood as the one great uniting force seeking to place the peoples on a common footing as brethren in Christ. While the mass of the English, often only half civilized, clung to many forms of their pagan life, the church slowly and patiently sought to teach them practices that were more humane and methods of life that were more refined, and so became a factor in civilization.

In the *monasteries* it provided peaceful centres where learning, art, agriculture, and the sciences were encouraged, and where refuge was provided for those who wished to withdraw from the confusion of the world about them. The first monastery was established at Canterbury by King Æthelbirht. By the middle of the eighth century a score or more of monasteries existed in England. In worship and discipline, they followed the Benedictine rule.[1] The monks maintained religious services, encouraged learning, and trained men in the practices of self-denial, charity, obedience, and labor. They cleared the forests, drained the marshes, built roads and bridges, and improved the great stretches of land granted to them. They obtained manuscripts which they copied and illustrated, and imported workmen who made glass vessels and iron utensils. In general they brought Roman art, architecture, literature, and ideas to England.

The *men trained in the monasteries* spread widely the influence of the English church. In less than two centuries after the sending of Augustine to England, England herself was sending missionaries to the Continent. The most noted of these was Boniface, who became archbishop of Mainz. The monasteries trained *scholars* as well as missionaries, men who had been inspired by Theodore of Tarsus to seek learning. By them schools were established, manuscripts collected, and works

[1] St. Benedict in the sixth century applied in his own monastery at Nursia, in Italy, rules of monastic life that were so widely adopted that within two hundred years his rule was in use in many thousand monasteries in western Europe. Every Benedictine took the three vows, of poverty, chastity, and obedience.

hitherto little known made accessible to both clergy and laity. The most famous schools were at Jarrow and York. Among their learned men were Bæda, to whose history of the English church we owe the greater part of our knowledge of the early history of England, and Alcuin, librarian of the school of York, who became the teacher of Charles the Great (Charlemagne). Thus, in the tribal wars, amid the shifting of political power, the church stood as the one great influence, working for the unity and improvement of the people.

CHAPTER III.

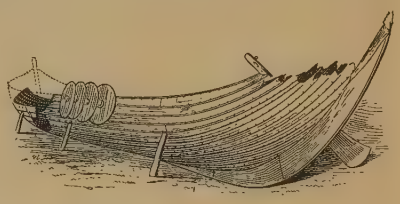
THE DANES AND THE RISE OF WESSEX.

26. The Centre of Power shifts South. — During the rise of the church (Chapter II) the centre of political and military power was constantly changing from one tribal kingdom to another. Under Oswiu and his son, *Northumbria* remained the most powerful kingdom, until in 685 it began to lose its prestige and Mercia again came to the front. Under King Offa *Mercia* extended its power to the Thames, gaining control over the East Anglians, East Saxons, Kentishmen, and Welshmen. (See Map, p. 29.) But at this time the greatness of a tribal kingdom depended on the personal ability of the king, and with the death of Offa in 796 the importance of Mercia passed away. The centre of power moved southward and *Wessex* rose to leadership. *Egbert*, of the royal family of Wessex, had lived for some years at the court of Charles the Great and had learned there to conquer and to rule. In 800 he returned to England and at once began his career of conquest. During the thirty-seven years of his reign he subjugated first the Kentishmen, then the South Saxons, East Saxons, and Surreymen, and later the East Anglians, South Humbrians, and the Welsh. In 823 he defeated his great Mercian rival, the successor of Offa. Thus he seems to have been the first king of all the English peoples and over-lord of many of the Celts; but this was not strictly true. His supremacy differed in no way from that of Æthelbirht, Eadwine, Oswiu, and Offa except in its completeness. Kent, Northumbria, Mercia, and Wessex, each in turn, had controlled the lesser kingdoms as long as each had possessed a man strong enough to maintain his lordship; and

the supremacy of each kingdom disappeared as soon as a weaker man succeeded to the kingdom or a stronger man arose elsewhere.

27. Conditions before the Danish Invasion. — The period from 450 through Egbert's reign was one in which tribal conditions prevailed. The great divisions into Saxons, East Anglians, Mercians, and the like were essentially tribal in character. There was no national unity in England at this time, there was little united action of any kind; peoples warred with each other, and the constant struggle for supremacy, first of Kent, then of Northumbria, Mercia, and Wessex in turn, left the land an easy prey to invaders. And the invaders were at hand — the Danes.

28. The Coming of the Danes. — The invaders of England in the eighth and ninth centuries were hardy hunters and fishermen, neighbors and cousins of the Anglo-Saxons, barbarians in government and manner of life. Bred of a venturesome spirit in the fiords of Scandinavia and Denmark, — those retreats which gave them the name of Vikings, or fiord-dwellers, — they were always ready to start on freebooting expeditions toward the shores which lay nearest. Their success was due to their swiftness which caught their victims unawares, whether on the water or on the land. On the water, in their long shallow boats, manned by thirty or forty warriors, they swept up the rivers; on the land they formed as a swiftly moving army, throwing up temporary fortifications, and using horses in order to move more rapidly, outwitted the clumsy tribal levies, plundered villages and monasteries, and were gone before the slow and badly equipped men of the shires could gather to defend themselves.



A Viking Ship.
Found at Gökstad, Norway.

The Viking host was not a national body in the sense that

it represented a single people coming from a single kingdom. It was rather a collection of war-bands, each under its own

From a photograph.

LINDISFARNE ABBEY.

The original abbey (seventh century) was famous for its connection with the two great monks, St. Aidan and St. Cuthbert.
The abbey shown in the photograph was built in the eleventh century on the site of the old abbey, from which the monks had been driven by the Danes in 883.

individual chieftain. The invasion was, in fact, the last phase of the movement known as the Wandering of the Nations, of which the migration of the Anglo-Saxons themselves had been a part.

29. The Danes as Plunderers. — The Anglo-Saxons, divided among themselves and helpless to cope with their skilful and reckless adversaries, were unable to resist the Danish advance.

In 793 the marauders attacked Northumbria and destroyed the monastery of Lindisfarne; then they pushed on toward the west, occupied Ireland, and in 802 burned the buildings at Iona. These acts completely crippled Northumbria. Meanwhile, they invaded Kent and Wessex also, and their attacks were frequent and persistent. At first their object was merely plunder, and for half a century they burned and despoiled, returning home each year with their booty. But in 851 we find in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* the ominous record, "This year the heathen men remained over winter at Thanet." The era of settlement had begun.

30. Settlement and Conquest. — During this second stage of the invasion large bodies of plunderers remained permanently in England and lived by ravaging. They formed a military force whose business was fighting, quite different from the native country folk who took to arms only when attacked. The *Chronicle* always calls the Danish force the "army," the Anglo-Saxon the "militia," or levy of able-bodied men of each shire. In successive summers the "army" pillaged Kent, East Anglia, Northumbria, and Mercia, the last three of which passed under the Danish yoke before the close of the ninth century. Thus the Danes coming originally as adventurers remained as settlers. A new people, kindred of the old, became tillers and ploughers of the lands it had conquered.

31. Resistance of Wessex. — In the centre and north of England the Danes succeeded in their conquest. Wessex alone among the kingdoms was able to resist; and upon its king, Æthelred, and his brother Alfred, fell the heavy burden of saving England from becoming a Daneland. The year 870–871 was critical in the history of the struggle, for it was in that year that the Danish army, hurling itself on Wessex, struggled stubbornly for the victory. For four months Æthelred and Alfred fought the Danes among the hills and marshes of Berkshire. First one side, then the other, was successful, till finally, in the spring of 871, Æthelred was wounded and died. He was succeeded by his brother Alfred, who had so

loyally helped him and upheld the cause of Wessex during these eventful months.

32. Alfred the Great. — Alfred the Great, by common repute the noblest of the early English kings, became king of the West Saxons in their hour of greatest peril. From his boyhood he had been considered by all who knew him as the most promising of the royal princes; in battle he had shown himself resourceful in command and a brave fighter on the field. He was comely in person, aristocratic in sympathies, and superior to all the men of his time in his love of learning and desire for the improvement of his semi-barbarous people. In 871, when twenty-three years old, he succeeded to the throne of the only kingdom of England which possessed any real national life or made any pretence to an efficient political organization.

ALFRED THE GREAT.
Engraved from an imaginary portrait in J. A. Froude's "Portraits."

33. Alfred and the Danes. — The first outlook was discouraging. With only a small force King Alfred could not dislodge the Danes from northern Wessex. So he sued for peace, and after paying a heavy tribute obtained a respite for a few years.

ENGLAND
AND
THE DANELAGH
about 900
SCALE OF MILES
0 20 40 60 80
English
Danish
Watling Street
SCOT
KINGDOM
Alclyd
Edinburgh
Jedburgh
STRATHCLYDE
Cumberland
MAN
Northumbria
York
Manchester
Lindesey
Chester
Peakland
Nottingham
Lincoln
Shrewsbury
Northfolk
Crowland
East
Anglia
Thetford
Medeshampsted
Bridgenorth
Hereford
Worcester
Southfolk
Breckenock
WESSEX
Dyfed
Cirencester
Essex
Gwent
AND ITS
Morganwg
Wallingford
Middlesex
London
Ascendune
Reading
Surrey
Canterbury
Bristol
Wedmore
DEPENDENCIES
Kent
Andredesweald
Glastonbury
Salisbury
WINCHESTER
Sussex
EXETER
WEST WALES
L.L. POATES, N.Y.

The Danes, being bought off, turned aside from Wessex, but in 877 they renewed their assault. They overran the eastern portion of the kingdom, captured London and Winchester, and occupied a fortified camp at Chippenham. Alfred built a fleet of "long ships" in 877, manned them with experienced sailors from abroad, and endeavored to guard the coast from attack. But twice he was obliged to pay additional money to the Danes to withdraw. Finally, with a small band of followers, Alfred made his way to Somerset, to an island called Athelney, surrounded by marshes and rivers into which no one could enter without boats. Here he made a fort, and laid his plans for victory.[1] Gradually in the spring of 878 he gathered more men about him, and when he felt that his force was strong enough, he fell upon the whole Danish army at Edington, and defeated it with great slaughter. He drove back the Danes to their retreat at Chippenham, laid siege to the place, and by threatening them with starvation, compelled them to sue for peace (878). This was the peace of Chippenham.

34. Alfred and Guthrum's Peace. — Guthrum, the Danish king, entered into friendly relations with Alfred, was baptized with thirty of his followers, and during the following years settled down in East Anglia as the peaceful subject of the king. In 885 Alfred seized London, and the next year made a second treaty with Guthrum.[2] By this treaty the boundary between the English and Danes was defined, giving the Danes the north and east, the West Saxons the south and west. The English and the Danes on the northeast obeyed the Danelaw; the West Saxons, Mercians, Surreymen, South

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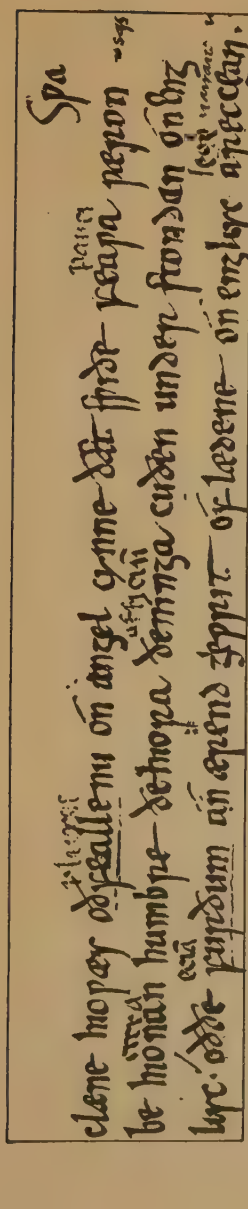
[1] At Athelney, in 1693, was found the famous enamelled jewel of Alfred's, bearing the inscription, "Ælfred mec hehgewyrcan" ("Alfred ordered me to be made").

[2] This treaty has often been confused with that of Chippenham, 878, but as the boundary between Wessex and the Danelaw left London in Alfred's hands, the terms of that boundary must have been arranged after Alfred's capture of that city in 885.



EXTRACT FROM THE PREFACE TO KING ALFRED'S TRANSLATION OF GREGORY'S *Pastoral Care*.

Swa clæne hio wæs othfeallenu on angel cynne thæt swithe feawa wæron be hionan humbre the hiora theninge cuthen under stonden on Englisc: oththe furthum an ærend gewrit of lædene on englisc arecccan.

Saxons, and Kentishmen on the southwest obeyed the West Saxon law.

The consequences of this arrangement were of vast importance for England. Alfred had emerged from the struggle strengthened rather than weakened, for he now ruled over a territory nearly twice as large as that which his brother Æthelred had controlled, and the opportunity was at last offered of establishing a powerful English kingdom in the south, the growth of which was to mean an English state and an English nation. At the same time a new racial element, the Danes, had been introduced into England, strengthening and invigorating the Anglo-Saxon stock.

35. Effects of the Danish Invasion. — The *evil* effects of the Danish conquest were, in the beginning, everywhere apparent. Monasteries were sacked, towns destroyed, harvests ruined, and hundreds of prisoners taken and sold

into slavery. Whole districts were devastated, the English driven out or made subject, and the monastic centres of learning and Christian influence ceased to exist. The effects of this destruction were startling. Alfred says in his preface to the translation of Pope Gregory's *Pastoral Care:* "So clean was learning fallen away among the English, that there were very few on this side of the Humber who knew how to render their daily prayers in English, or so much as translate an epistle out of Latin into English. I ween that there were not so many beyond the Humber. They were so few that I cannot think of a single one south of the Thames when I took the kingdom."

On the other hand, the *good* effects of the Danish invasion were many. By forcing political unity upon Wessex, the kingdom in which lay the future of England, it prepared the way for the unity of all Christian England. Hereafter the Celts in Devon and Somerset, the Saxons in Mercia, and the Jutes in Kent were to become Englishmen. Then, too, the Danes brought a fresh supply of Teutonic blood into England, and strengthened the institutions which the Angles and Saxons had already established. In law and language, in habits and customs of life, the two peoples had so much in common that for their union into one nation only a reasonable period of time was necessary.

36. Alfred's Work in Wessex. — Though King Alfred continued his war against the Danes until the year 896, his military work had been largely accomplished by 881, and he was able to turn to matters of internal reorganization and reform.

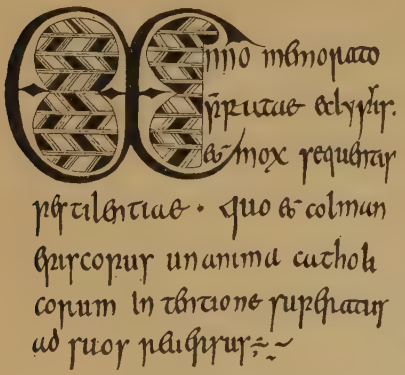
His first consideration was for the *defences* of his kingdom. Already, in 877, he had commanded "long ships" to be built for the protection of the coast, and equipped them with experienced sailors hired from among the Frisians. Twice he met the Danes on their own element, defeated them, and captured their ships. In 897 he enlarged the navy by the construction of ships twice as large as the others, and propelled by sixty oars or more. In the *army* his changes were even

more radical. He increased the number of thanes, and required of them a more regular military service. He divided them into three groups, one of which was always to be with him. In this way he provided for a permanent body of heavy-armed men. The freemen of the shires, who fought on foot, he divided into two parts, one of which remained at home, while the other accompanied the king and the thanes in war. To meet the Danes he mounted many of his men on horseback for greater rapidity of movement. To others he intrusted the erection of fortified camps, and the strengthening and defence of the burghs. It is a noteworthy evidence of the success of these changes that for nearly a century after this time, his successors were almost continuously successful in all conflicts with the Danes.

Alfred strengthened also the *organization of the church*, and brought it into closer contact with the Continental church of which it was a part. He constantly sent alms and letters to Rome and received gifts of manuscripts and relics in return. He erected two new monasteries in Wessex, and in one of these he placed his own daughter as abbess, and to each he gave an ample endowment. He strengthened neighboring monasteries in Mercia, and gave freely not only to churches in England, but also to those in Brittany and Ireland.

For *learning and literature* his work is especially famous. He organized schools both at his court and at the monasteries, demanding the attendance of his own children, as well as those of the nobility, that they might read Latin and Saxon books and learn to write. About him he gathered men of learning: priests and scholars, who aided him in his work. He read books and had others read to him. For the instruction of the clergy, he translated, from the Latin, Gregory's *Pastoral Care*, and other Latin works on philosophy and history. Either he or one of his Mercian scholars made a version of Bæda's *Ecclesiastical History;* and a group of monks, probably at Winchester, the capital of the West Saxons, gave a splendid impetus to Anglo-Saxon prose by gathering together, under

Alfred's inspiration, the annals kept in the monasteries and continuing them in the form of a history called the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. The translation of Bæda and the writing



Anno memorato
præfatæ eclypsis
et mox sequentis
pestilentiæ, quo et Colman
episcopus unanima catholi-
corum intentione superatus
ad suos reversus est . . .

A Portion of Bæda's Ecclesiastical History.
From an eighth century copy in the British Museum.

In the year already mentioned of the aforesaid eclipse and the plague that followed, when also Colman the bishop returned to his own people after suffering defeat [at the Synod of Whitby] through the united efforts of the catholics [the Roman party under Wilfrid], [Archbishop Deusdedit died]. A.D. 664.

of the Chronicle bear witness to the growing national spirit that Alfred was stimulating in Wessex.

In *law* the king's efforts were no less successful. He gathered into one code the laws of the West Saxon kings, of Æthelbirht of Kent, and of Offa of Mercia. This collection is of great importance; for not only is it one of the greatest monuments of this prudent and far-sighted king, but it laid the foundation for law in Wessex, and upon it were built the laws of his successors.

What he did for *government* is more difficult to determine; as later generations, impressed with Alfred's greatness, attributed to him laws that were not his, and political changes that he did not effect. We know that he was constantly exhorting his ministers to govern more wisely, and that he him-

self kept careful watch to see that justice was done throughout the kingdom. He made the central government more efficient by frequent meetings of his chief advisers, and also controlled local affairs by sending chosen persons to see that peace was maintained and that the good of his people was considered in the smaller districts.

For *industry* Alfred accomplished much. He encouraged manufactures, particularly artisan work, such as the making of articles in gold, and promoted trade and commerce, sending expeditions to the Baltic and elsewhere. He was in frequent communication with foreign kings and patriarchs, with whom he exchanged letters and gifts. At home he restored cities and towns that had been destroyed by the Danes, and he rebuilt many royal villas. All this was accomplished by a man who was tormented during his life by a grievous sickness and who died at the early age of fifty-two, October 26, 901 (899 ?).[1]

37. Alfred's Character. — Alfred is the most important person whom we have thus far met in the history of England, and he is the first of whom we have any detailed or accurate knowledge. Under him we begin to pass from the older tribal conditions to more settled forms of life and government. He laid the foundation for a permanent state, in which there was better administration and where the possession of land was becoming a more important factor. But the perfectness of Alfred's character has been heightened unnecessarily by the exaggerated praises of many modern writers. Even to the men of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries Alfred was "England's darling," and he has remained such ever since. Nevertheless, there is little warrant in what we know of Alfred for making him a saint. He was one of the founders of England: his works speak for him and sufficiently indicate his greatness.

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[1] The year of Alfred's death is uncertain. Stevenson, after a critical examination of the evidence, decides in favor of 899; *E.H.R.*, 1898, p. 71. His conclusions had the high approval of Bishop Stubbs. Plummer, however, decides in favor of 900; *Alfred*, pp. 197–198.

38. Expansion of Wessex.—Alfred was followed by a line of noteworthy kings who maintained the dignity of Wessex and extended its power not only over Danish territory, but in the regions occupied by the Celts as well. Under Eadward the Elder (901–924), Æthelstan (924–940), Eadmund (940–946), Eadred (946–959), and Eadgar (959–975), the boundaries of Wessex were widened by the addition of conquered territory, its laws and methods of government carried north of the Thames, and its inhabitants and the Danes bound together into a closer union. Eadward the Elder extended the West Saxon supremacy over East Anglia and central Wales, Æthelstan added Northumbria, from which Eadmund later drove out the Danish king. Eadmund and his successor Eadred made compacts with the king of the Scots, which showed that the power and reputation of Wessex had been carried far to the north and that its king was recognized in some way as the superior of the tribal kings of the Scots and Britons. By the expansion of Wessex a national England was gradually coming into existence.

39. Eadgar.—Eadgar reigned from 959 to 975, and under him England of the Anglo-Saxon period rose to its highest point of political power. This prominence was due, not to Eadgar alone, but in no small part to the statesmanlike genius of Archbishop Dunstan, who was the chief adviser of the king. These two men brought about the most important measures which have made Eadgar's reign prominent in English history. For the first time the kingdom was at peace. "Eadgar loved God's law and bettered the peace of the folk beyond any king who had gone before him," says the *Chronicle*. This good work he accomplished in many ways: he guarded the kingdom against invasion by invading Wales and Strathclyde to check rebellious movements among the Celts; he enlarged the fleet and coasted around England to ward off attacks from the Danes, notably those who were in Ireland; and he preserved friendly relations with the rulers of the Celts in the north and northwest. "And all the kings of this island," says an old

chronicler, "of Cumbrians and Scots, eight kings, came to Eadgar once upon a time in one day, and they all bowed to Eadgar's government." A later writer, fond of exaggeration, tells us that eight kings rowed King Eadgar on the river Dee while the latter steered with a golden rudder. The tale shows the power of Eadgar's name.

Eadgar strengthened the *internal government* of his kingdom. His predecessors had already recognized the need of improving its organization and had placed Essex and East Anglia, and later Northumbria and Mercia, under the control of *ealdormen*, who ruled there for the king. But Eadgar, knowing the difficulty of governing so large a region, in days when communication was slow, divided Northumbria into two ealdormanries and Wessex into three. The ealdormen were selected from among the most influential men of each region; indeed, they were often sub-kings, whom the West Saxon kings had subdued, and there was always danger that they would grow more important than the king himself and would usurp his authority in the region. But Eadgar was strong enough to control his ealdormen. "Twice a year, summer and winter, he rode through every shire[1] inquiring into the judgments of his ealdormen, and showing himself a powerful avenger in the name of justice."

Eadgar stirred up the people in their towns and villages by increasing the usefulness of *local institutions*. He required the courts to meet regularly and made the hundred[2] responsible for the preservation of the peace and for looking after thieves. Eadgar also made money uniform throughout the kingdom, and established one standard for weights and measures. He sought to conciliate the Danes and to transform them into loyal subjects by allowing them to be tried by their own laws, by appointing many of them ealdormen, and then by summoning those whom he appointed to sit among his wisemen.

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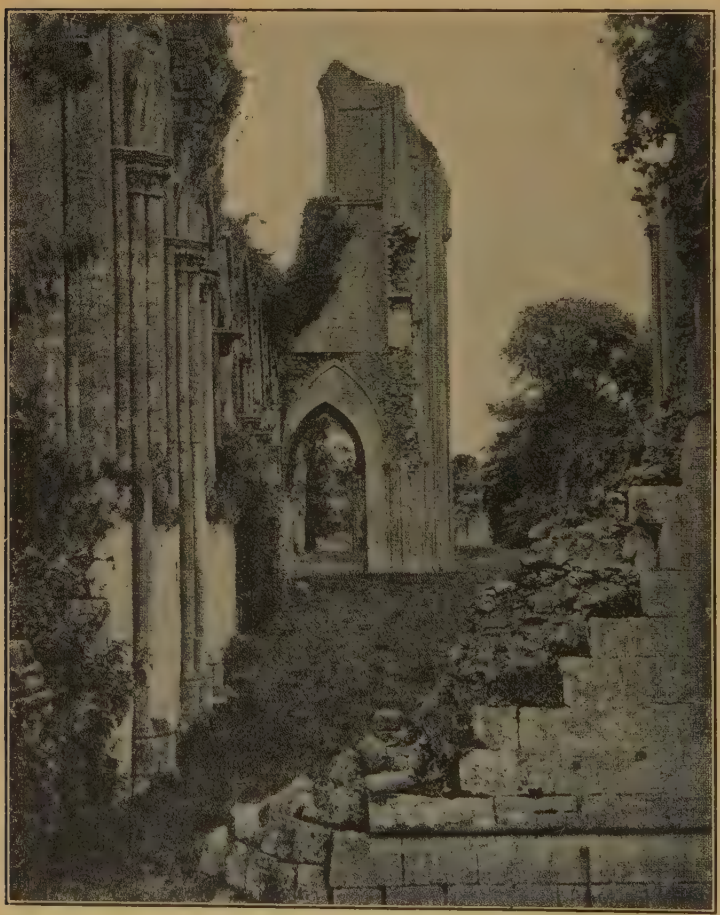
[1] For *shire*, see p. 42.

[2] For *hundred*, see p. 43.

40. Dunstan's Reforms. — In all these political reforms



From a photograph.

GLASTONBURY ABBEY.
Where Dunstan and Eadgar were said to be buried.

Dunstan helped the king, but he was himself more interested in the condition of the church and the clergy Since the

founding of the Benedictine monasteries in England, in the years from 600 to 750, the spiritual life of the monks, not only in England but on the Continent also, had deteriorated, and in the tenth century a movement had begun at the monastery of Cluny in Burgundy for the improvement of the clergy throughout the church. This revival spread to England, where Dunstan was eager to take up the new movement.

He wished to bring the church in England into closer touch with the church on the Continent; to increase the number of monasteries in England, and to have them all managed alike under the reformed Benedictine rule of Cluny; to bring in books of higher scholarship and deeper spiritual character, and so arouse the English monks to a greater interest in literary and spiritual things; lastly, to stop the marriage of the clergy, and to prevent the archbishops, bishops, and abbots from taking prominent part in political affairs and so neglecting their religious duties.

His efforts, however, were only partly successful. His reforms were premature and roused great opposition. With the death of Eadgar in 975 he lost his best ally, and though he lived thirteen years longer, he made but few attempts to complete what he had begun. When he died in 988 Anglo-Saxon England was already entering on a period marked by disaster and decay.

CHAPTER IV.

ANGLO-SAXON INSTITUTIONS.

41. Anglo-Saxon Life. — By the close of Eadgar's reign, a century after the accession of Alfred, Anglo-Saxon methods of life and government had become well defined. Tribal organization and custom, tribal feeling and ways of thinking still prevailed, and formed the starting point in the development of political life. Some important political changes can be seen. The *king* of the tribe had become the king of all England; the *witan* or council of wise-men had risen steadily in importance as the royal power had increased; the *thanes*, in the old time personal attendants on the king, had become great territorial lords; the old tribal kingdoms had ceased to be the seats of separate peoples and had become administrative districts or *shires* of the larger kingdom; the sub-kings had frequently become ealdormen of the shire or group of shires; and the old folkmôt of the tribe had become the court of the shire. Within the shire another division called the *hundred* had been growing more and more prominent; finally, the old attitude toward landholding and the old tribal customs had become modified, largely through the influence of the church.

42. The King. — Most striking of these changes was the growth in the power and position of the king. Originally the divinely descended leader of his tribe, he had become the permanent ruler of a great and settled people. He was selected or approved by the great men of the kingdom sitting in council, from a particular family whose hereditary right to furnish kings for the tribe was based on descent from the gods. By the time of Alfred, and probably earlier, consecra-

tion by the archbishop of Canterbury added to the sanctity of the royal office.

The king had three functions: 1. He was a *warrior*, the head of the people in arms. 2. He was a *law-giver* acting with his chief advisers, — the witan. Of these laws, written in Anglo-Saxon, many collections still exist. 3. He was a *judge*, but he held no court and had little to do with the execution of justice. At first he acted when justice could not be obtained elsewhere or in cases of land disputes between his chief men. As time went on, he came to be considered as the source of justice, and crimes or breaches of the peace came to be looked upon as offences against him. This idea of the "king's peace" instead of the folk's peace increased men's respect for the king, but it is to be remembered that during the Anglo-Saxon period the character of the central government of the kingdom depended on the personality of the king. There were no definite and fixed institutions as there are to-day.

The king had three sources of income: first, the revenues from the royal lands, and certain supplies furnished yearly by his people;[1] second, a portion of all fines imposed in the local courts of the shire and hundred, including property forfeited for treason; and third, tolls from markets, fairs, the use of harbors and navigable rivers, and from other privileges connected with trade.

With the king was his household, consisting of those who looked after his affairs. The butler, the chamberlain, and the seneschal, or steward, were at first, as their names imply, attendants on the table, the chambers, and the cellar, but even in Eadgar's day they were becoming important officials at the king's court.

43. The Witan. — Whenever the king wished coöperation and advice, he called for the chief men of the kingdom, who, when present with the king, were known as the witan or wise-

[1] For example, Westbury sent yearly to the royal vill: "two tuns of strong ale, a comb of mild ale, a comb of Welsh ale; seven oxen, six sheep, forty cheeses, thirty ambers of corn [120 bushels], four ambers of meal."

men. This body was made up of those only whom the king *desired to summon*, — members of the royal family, high officials in the church, prominent thanes, ealdormen, and others whom the king selected. These men met at one of the royal villas, usually three or four times a year, and formed the king's personal council. The witan had but one chief function, to coöperate with the king in certain matters, such as (1) the writing down and issuing the customs and laws of the kingdom; (2) making peace; (3) levying the Danegeld, the first direct tax in English history, imposed for the purpose of buying off the Danes; (4) hearing, with the king, cases relating to land disputes; and (5) making grants of royal land to church or thane.

44. The Shire and the Shiremôt. — The earliest Anglo-Saxon shires were regions originally occupied by small but independent tribes, conquered by the West Saxons and made subject to the authority of the West Saxon king. Some of the later shires, particularly in Mercia, were more artificially formed, and were not established until the twelfth century. At first, probably young members of the royal family were at the head of the shire or group of shires in southern England, but afterwards, the head was usually the ealdorman, an official selected by the king and the witan from the prominent men of the locality. Thus the ealdormen, being natives of the shire, sided with the locality rather than with the king. In this respect they differed from that other prominent man of the shire — the *shire-reeve* or *sheriff*. The sheriff was in origin a royal servant, sent to take charge of the royal lands in the shire, to collect the king's revenues there, and to receive the king's share of the fines imposed by the courts. The sheriff was at first a subordinate, an underling; but he was to rise as monarchy rose until, in time, his office became one of the most influential in the kingdom, sought for by men of highest rank.

The shiremôt was the gathering of the chief landowners, the men of influence in the shire, any one of whom could send his steward or reeve of his estates if he was unable to be present.

There were also in attendance the bishop, whose diocese generally coincided with the shire, the ealdorman, and probably the sheriff, who summoned the môt. The shiremôt was a dignified and independent body, that met formally only twice a year, though it may have met more often in a less formal way. It enforced the folklaw, — that is, the local customs, — and applied such laws as were declared and enacted by the king and witan. It had chiefly to do with: (1) land questions; (2) the enforcement of military service; (3) some ecclesiastical matters; and (4) cases which after three trials had not been satisfactorily decided in the hundred court.

45. The Hundred and the Hundredmôt. — The shires were subdivided into hundreds, each of which in origin was probably composed of a hundred hides of land, that is, a hundred areas of ploughland, pasture, meadow, and wood sufficient for family support. Such a grouping was necessary for military and financial purposes, that is, for the gathering of the militia and the collection of tribute. Probably at first the territory was not used for administration, that is, for maintaining peace and justice in the locality; Eadgar was the first, so far as we know, to employ it for that purpose. Therefore the hundred court is not as old as the shire court.

The hundred court met every four weeks and was attended by the small landowners of the hundred and the inhabitants of the villages, who probably rarely went to the shiremôt. For the people the hundred was the busiest and most important of all the divisions of the kingdom; and the hundredmôt, held frequently and within easy reach of all, was the place where they settled their quarrels and tried all sorts of petty cases. Few of the lesser people ever went out of a hundred or had anything to do with king or shiremôt. At the head of the hundredmôt was the sheriff or one of his subordinates; possibly some ecclesiastic, like an archdeacon, sat with the sheriff, just as in the shiremôt the bishop sat with the ealdorman. The court had three kinds of justice to deal with: first, civil, concerning land; second, criminal, concerning house-breaking,

blood shedding, assault, theft, and the like; third, ecclesiastical, concerning breaches of the church law. Every one had to seek justice first in the hundred court. If after three trials the freeman could not obtain justice there, he might then go to the shire court. But an appeal to this higher court must have been a rare occurrence; a further appeal to the king was forbidden.

46. The Vill. — Within the hundred were the tûns, or vills. Some of the tûns were doubtless single farmsteads, but usually they were clusters of houses occupied by the villagers, the freemen, who went to the môt, made up the military levy, and cultivated the soil. The vill was surrounded by open, ploughed fields and by meadows, pasture, waste, and forest. The open fields, so called because they were not hedged in, were divided into narrow strips, which were so distributed as to give the villagers equal shares of good ploughland. Each villager had a homestead, a certain number of the strips, and definite rights in the meadows and pasture. The villagers owned the land separately, but all ploughed, sowed, and reaped together. The vill had no political importance and is rarely mentioned in the laws; but it was probably used as a unit of police administration, keeping the peace and detecting criminals.

The inhabitants of the vills were originally the freemen of the tribes. During the long struggle with the Danes, many of these free villagers, losing all that they possessed, had been compelled to seek the protection of more powerful landowners; while others, reduced to poverty by the heavy cost of the war carried on in Wessex and Mercia, had pledged their lands, and on receiving them back had bound themselves to new obligations of payment and labor. But each villager, whether he had pledged himself or not, had his *wergeld*, or price at which he was valued in case he were murdered, was liable to be called upon to serve in the army, and could get justice, if he needed it, in the hundredmôt.

47. The Burgh. — Besides the tûns, or vills, there were also burghs, settlements more compact than the vills, with larger

numbers of inhabitants, and with special privileges which the vills did not possess. Most of the burghs at this early time

STRIPS OF LAND.

There is no drawing of any strips of land at this time, but the above plan from a later date (1606) shows how the land was probably divided.

were half agricultural communities and half trading centres, located in places, on the coast or inland, favorable for trade and fortification. The origin of the burghs is obscure. Some

of them, such as Lincoln and Winchester, go back to the days of the Roman occupation; others were the chief towns of shires, possessing a market and a court; while others, such as Worcester, Hertford, and Warwick, may trace their origin to some of the fortresses erected by the West Saxon kings during the wars with the Danes. Trade gave to these centres their exceptional advantages; so that the name "burgh" was finally restricted either to those places specially fortified which were in convenient trading localities, or to those places which, as seats of the royal administration, had become trading centres because they were under the special protection of the king's peace. In these burghs were placed the markets, and in them money was coined and business transacted.

Most interesting of all the special privileges of a burgh were its *judicial rights*. Eadgar decreed that three times a year a *burghgemôt* should meet, over which the burgh-reeve should preside. This court had to do with the affairs of the burghers, just as the hundredmôt had to do with the affairs of the people of the hundred; for a burgh in which a court was held was not under the jurisdiction of the hundred court, — it was a hundred all by itself. It was, however, in the shire and under the sheriff.

48. The Land System. — At first there was only one name for all occupied land, namely *folkland*, and the families possessing or disposing of such lands were governed by the unwritten law of the folk — the *folklaw*. That is why these lands were called folklands. All the Anglo-Saxon households, from that of the king to those of the non-noble freeman who possessed land at all, had folklands. The name by which these family lands are commonly known is the *hide*, and the lands of a hide could not be sold or given away without the consent of the family.

The royal family had its own folklands or royal demesnes, from which the king and other members derived a large part of their support. But the king as *king* had special rights over his subjects and their folklands. At first the king alone enjoyed these rights; but when after the coming of the monks

he desired for the good of his soul to make gifts to the church, he began to give these *rights* away. The monks took good care that these gifts should be recorded in a deed which was called a charter or *book*. These grants were of lands already occupied, so that the value of the gift lay not in the land itself, but in the revenue and services which the monks received from the people who occupied it. These lands were called *booklands*, and a single bookland might include many folklands. Afterward the kings made similar grants to their thanes for faithful service done. One of the greatest advantages of this form of landholding was that the person or church to whom a bookland was given was not bound by the folklaw, but could give or sell freely that which he had received.

At first, booklands were given without any condition attached, but in the ninth century we meet with grants that were not outright gifts; they were loans. The church made the greater number of these loans, for the idea of the "loan," like the idea of the "book," was brought to England from the Continent by the church. Such loans were made to thanes, chiefly those of high rank. But the thane could not dispose of this land as he pleased; the church had merely loaned it to him that he might enjoy the revenues from it for a limited time. In return for this concession the thane paid the church in money or in service. Such lands were called *loanlands*.

49. General Aspects of Anglo-Saxon Life. — Among the mass of the Anglo-Saxon people the conditions of life were still *tribal*, that is, the kindred was more important than the individual. Settlement was by groups, bound together by blood. These group-families held together in their friendships and their hostilities. Illustrations of this family unity are: the *blood-feuds*, in which for a man killed on one side another on the other side might be killed also; the *wergeld*, or money substitute, which a family might pay for a person slain by one of its members; and the compurgators, or *oath-helpers*, who in origin were kinsmen bearing witness to the character of one of their family. Other illustrations are the folklands,

which were family lands, the common ploughing, and the right of the family to control the gift or sale of such lands, to regulate such matters of common interest as succession to its headship, the guardianship of minors, the marriage of children. Gradually individual rights began to appear, as seen in book-land and the king's peace; but chiefly among the higher classes. Among the lesser folk the old family customs and practices remained for centuries.

50. Justice. — Keeping the peace was at first a family obligation. Kindred groups were held responsible for the conduct of their members. Later, freemen were required to find lords who would be surety for their good behavior. A man might be charged with a great crime, a felony; or a lesser crime, a trespass. If the former, he was at the king's mercy; if the latter, he might get off with paying a fine. But how was he proved guilty? First, in the presence of the free landowners, who made up the hundred court and acted as judges, he was charged with the crime by the complainant in formal words. This charge he answered in words equally formal. Then those present decided, according to the correctness of the forms used, which of the two should be put to the proof. The one adjudged guilty could clear himself (1) by the ordeal of water, that is, if he sank after being thrown in, he was innocent; or (2) by the ordeal of fire, which necessitated his walking over or carrying hot irons, and if after three days the wound showed signs of festering, he was guilty; or (3) by the testimony of a certain number of oath-helpers or compurgators, who bore witness to his character.

51. Agriculture. — Agriculture was the dominant interest among the Anglo-Saxons. Men tilled the fields and raised barley, oats, wheat, beans, and the like; they lived in thatched huts without chimneys, and kept oxen, cows, sheep, goats, swine, poultry, and bees. Upon the churchlands and in the burghs stone was used in building, and the standard of life was higher than in the country places. Roads were very poor, so that there was very little communication; men rarely travelled,

and the produce of a vill was not taken away to be sold, but was consumed where it was raised. There was almost no money in circulation except in the trading centres. Men paid their dues to the king or to the church in certain amounts of grain or malt, honey and ale, in a certain number of hens and chickens, fish, sheep, or in the performance of certain duties.

52. The Language. — The Angles and Saxons, when they came to Britain, must have spoken a language almost entirely free from an admixture of foreign words. After they had settled in the island, a few Latin and Celtic words crept in, but the number was small. In time, dialects arose, chief of which were the West Saxon, the Mercian, and the Northumbrian. Slowly a literature, poetry and prose, came into existence. But learned men wrote in Latin, and most of the charters are in that language. Anglo-Saxon, however, was the tongue of the *Chronicle*, of the laws, of the poets, and of some of the great preachers. It was everywhere the speech of the people.

CHAPTER V.

DECLINE OF ANGLO-SAXON POWER.

53. Character of the Period. — The period from the close of Eadgar's reign to the Norman Conquest (975–1066) was one of great disturbance and confusion. With few exceptions the Anglo-Saxon kings showed little of the military sagacity and statesmanship of their predecessors. From without, continued Danish attacks brought misery to the people; while within the kingdom there arose great territorial lords, whose ambitions and quarrels threatened England with disunion and civil war.

After the short reign of Eadward the Martyr, Æthelred, the younger son of Eadgar, became king in 979. Idle and incompetent, he was unfit to rule by himself, and his councillors, ambitious and evil-minded, gave him only bad advice. Æthelred the Redeless, "the unwisely advised," he was justly called in his own day. The great earls took advantage of his weakness, and each became in his own earldom an independent lord. Thus the English, governed by an inefficient king, and divided among themselves by the rivalries of the ealdormen, were in no condition to meet the attack of the Danes, who now appeared off their coasts.

This new invasion of the Danes was very different from that of Alfred's day. It was now the work of the Danish king and army, coming from a Danish kingdom, and it had a purpose and unity that the earlier movement lacked. The preceding invasion of the ninth century was the last phase of a great tribal wandering, that is, it was the work of tribes; whereas the invasion of the tenth and eleventh centuries was the work of kings.

54. The Danish Conquest. — The ships of the Danes were

seen in 980 off Southampton, and later off the east coast. After desperate fighting the English made a peace with the Danish king and arranged the terms under which English and Danes should live side by side, each under his own law. For the peace they paid a tribute of £10,000. In 994 £16,000 more was paid. Tribute once given was sought again more eagerly. In 999 king and witan raised a ship force to coöperate with the land force, but so inefficient was the management that nothing was accomplished; and again tribute was paid, to the amount of £24,000.[1] Finally, in 1002, other measures having failed, Æthelred resorted to massacre and caused the Danish residents in southern England to be slain.

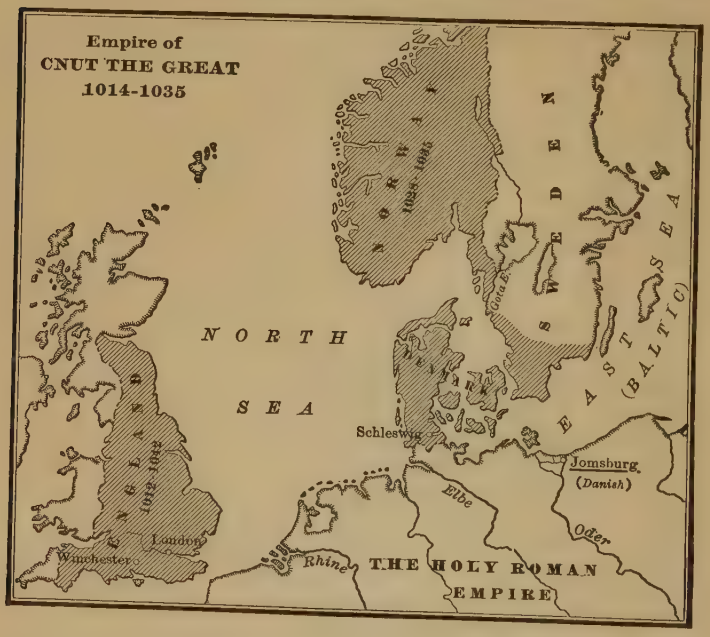
Sweyn Fork-beard, king of the Danes, who had been among the earlier invaders and whose sister had been slain in the massacre, now returned to England to wreak a terrible vengeance. With all the bloodthirstiness of a Viking he struck blow after blow, burned towns and ruined harvests. In 1007 the terrified and helpless English paid more than £30,000 in tribute. In 1009 ship money was levied, ships were built, and a national fast observed; but all to no purpose. Jealousy, treachery, and bad management prevailed among the English, and rendered all efforts useless. At last the men of the north, who had never wanted Æthelred for their king, went over to Sweyn; Wessex, East Anglia, and London followed, and Æthelred was forced to flee across the channel to Normandy.

In 1014 Sweyn died, leaving the kingdom to his son Cnut, who, after the death of Æthelred in 1016, was proclaimed king by a portion of the English. Another portion — the citizens of London, and a few of the chief men — declared for the son of Æthelred, Edmund, called Ironside for his bravery. For nine months the struggle between the two claimants to the throne lasted, until the death of Edmund the same year left

[1] It is interesting to notice that from this time Scandinavia "was flooded with the English silver money" of the coinage of Æthelred, and that to-day more coins of this mintage are to be found in Scandinavian museums than in the British Museum.

Cnut in possession of the kingdom. In London, in December, he was recognized as king of all England.

55. Cnut. — In 1016 Cnut was in control of but one kingdom, that of England; he had some title to Norway, which he made good in 1028, and in 1020 he was chosen king by the Danes of Denmark. Thus England, toward the end of Cnut's reign, was but part of a great northern empire, an empire, however,



not firmly united even under Cnut, but composed of three peoples representing different degrees of civilization, and widely separated from each other by intervening waters. Although Cnut had shown the fierceness and cruelty of a Viking in the earlier years of warfare, he exhibited, as the years passed, a high order of statesmanship. He loved the English as his own people and favored the church, sometimes too ostentatiously. He became a true English king, carrying out

the policy of his great predecessors of the house of Alfred, increasing the strength of the kingdom, and furthering the peace and prosperity of his people.

56. The Great Earldoms. — Cnut divided England into four provinces or earldoms, each of which he placed under a man whom he could trust. The earldoms conformed to the four great tribal divisions into which England had always been separated, even under the West Saxon kings, — East Anglia, Northumbria, Mercia, and Wessex. The Northumbrians, East Anglians, Mercians, and West Saxons may be called the four races of the English nation.

57. Cnut's Government and Law. — Cnut sought to blot out all traces of the earlier wars and to unite English and Danes under a peaceful and prosperous rule. To this end he sent his Danish army back to Denmark in 1018, retaining only the crews of forty ships in the royal service. He maintained Norse and Danish earls in office, but refused to introduce Danish law into the kingdom, and in 1018 he gathered English and Danes together at Oxford, where all chose Eadgar's law and swore to observe it. Two years later he issued a general promise of good government, and in the course of his reign caused a code of English law to be drawn up, enlarged, and improved. This law Cnut bade men obey, and obedience brought peace and concord to England.

58. Cnut's Foreign Relations. — Cnut displayed the same far-sighted statesmanship in foreign affairs. As ruler of England, Denmark, and Norway, and of lands on the south Baltic shores, his interests were wider than had been those of any English king up to this time. He preserved peaceful relations with the Welsh and Scots, and when, in 1018, Malcolm II of Scotland defeated the Northumbrians and seized Lothian, Cnut, who had just dismissed his Danish army, was unable to prevent that region from separating permanently from England — an event of great importance in Scottish history. He married Emma, Æthelred's widow and a daughter of a Norman duke, hoping to prevent thereby any attempt of the Normans to in-

vade England in behalf of the sons of Æthelred, who had an hereditary claim to the throne.

59. Danish Influence in England. — At the end of Cnut's rule of twenty years Danish influence had made itself permanently felt in England. The Danish rule had brought a new and hardier element into English life, for the Danes were stronger, freer, and more adventurous than the Anglo-Saxons of Cnut's day. Indeed, their institutions, law, and customs resembled those of the Anglo-Saxons of the ninth and tenth centuries, though the ties of blood and kindred were much less marked. Small Danish freeholders were still numerous in the northeast at the close of the eleventh century, though in the south such Danes as were to be found there had come very largely under the control of powerful lords.

Cnut promoted new industries and introduced a new coinage of marks and ores instead of pounds and shillings. London became, in a sense, a Scandinavian port, and commerce with Flanders, Normandy, France, Germany, and the Baltic began to increase. The Danes were traders, and the union of Norway, Denmark, and England and the close connection of England with the Continent were favorable to commerce and navigation. Twenty years of prosperity gave a great impetus to the boroughs (burghs), particularly those of the coasts and rivers, and London, Chester, and Bristol grew rapidly in importance.

But commercial prosperity did not make up for the political weakness of Cnut's empire. Before 1035 Scotland and Norway had broken away and Cnut seemed unable to hold the different parts together. Under his incompetent sons, Harold and Harthacnut, the empire ceased to exist, and even England wished to throw off the Danish rule. With the death of Harthacnut in 1042, the witan recognized as king, Edward, the son of the exiled Æthelred and Emma of Normandy.

60. Edward the Confessor. — England, which at this time needed the firm hand and vigorous policy of a strong guide and leader, now fell to the lot of one of the weakest of the

English line. Saintly, Edward the Confessor may have been; but he was far from competent to rule. During the first nine years of his twenty years' reign he was controlled by Godwine, earl of Wessex, who became the power behind the throne. He gave to the earl the chief management of the kingdom, made the earl's daughter his queen, and placed a number of the earl's sons in positions of prominence, so that the house of Godwine seemed supreme.

But this harmony between the king and the great earl was not destined to last. Edward had been brought up a Norman, and at his accession to the throne there came with him to England not only Norman customs and speech, but also Norman favorites, whom he put into places of influence and prominence. Many quarrels ensued and the house of Godwine was exiled. In 1052 the earl returned and triumphed over the Norman favorites. At his death, in 1053, his son Harold succeeded to the earldom and became for fourteen years the real ruler of England. King Edward was but a figure-head.

61. Harold. — Harold tried to unite English, Normans, and Danes by a policy of conciliation, and to strengthen the frontiers of the kingdom by a policy of war. He admitted many Normans into England and allowed them to reside there, even giving them places about the person of the king, but refusing to grant them political power. Few of Norman blood became earls or bishops. To demonstrate his ability as a warrior and to guard the kingdom from invasion he undertook, and caused others to undertake, campaigns of considerable importance against Scotland and Wales. By these means the frontiers on the north and west were rendered more secure.

In the meantime within the kingdom important changes had taken place in the control of the four great earldoms. Harold was earl of the West Saxons, and King Edward had given Northumbria to Harold's brother Tostig. Both East Anglia and Mercia came under the rule of Eadwine of Mercia. In 1065 the Northumbrian Danes rose against Tostig, who had proved a brutal and tactless ruler, and expelled him from his

earldom. His place was given to a brother of Eadwine. Thus three of the largest portions of England — Mercia, Northumbria, and East Anglia — were under the rule of earls, rivals of Harold, while his own brother, Tostig, was an outlaw, ready to take up arms against him should the opportunity offer. At this juncture, January, 1066, Edward the Confessor died, and Harold, the strongest candidate, though not the legitimate heir to the throne, was chosen by the witan as king.

62. England in 1066. — At this time England was in a condition bordering on anarchy. There existed no central authority powerful enough to bind together the different parts of the country. The earls were exercising independent powers: they had practically made their earldoms hereditary; and each within his territory controlled the army, made war on his own account, received the revenues, and to some extent managed the church. The Mercians, Northumbrians, and East Anglians were jealous of the West Saxons and resented their leadership, and there was no true national unity in the land.

63. Beginnings of Feudalism. — In different parts of the country, particularly in the south, a new relationship, as yet social rather than political in character, called *feudalism*, was beginning to appear. Edward the Confessor had weakened his royal authority by granting to great ecclesiastical lords the *right to try offences* committed within their territories, and had freed them from the control of the royal officers. Churches were loaning portions of land to lay lords to hold for a fixed time in return for *protection or payment of money*. Some of these great lords, both ecclesiastical and lay, were controlling the *hundred courts* and were themselves receiving all the fines from those courts.

Meanwhile men of humbler station had continued to seek the protection of great lords and to take the oaths of homage and fealty, which bound each one to serve and defend his lord. Sometimes these men, who generally possessed small portions of lands in the vills, pledged only their *personal attendance and service* and kept their lands free from the lord's control; sometimes, when very evil days came upon them, they were compelled

to place *their lands* as well as themselves in the hands of a lord, for the lord alone could furnish the food, seed, and cattle that they needed. In this case the freeman became a tenant of the lord, and owed not only personal service, but labor and payments, also. On the ecclesiastical estates this change in the condition of the old freemen had gone on more rapidly than elsewhere, so that many villagers were already bound to work for their lord and to pay dues, and could not leave the land they cultivated.

But a great variety of custom everywhere prevailed; many men were free to choose their lords as they pleased, and no central body exercised control over the local courts or looked after local government. These conditions, combined with the growing power of great families and local lords, made England liable to rebellion and anarchy; they made desirable, even at great cost and misery, the coming of a stronger people, whose leaders were to exhibit a genius for organization that the Anglo-Saxons had never possessed.

CHAPTER VI.

THE NORMAN CONQUEST.

64. Normandy. — The Normans were the descendants of those old Norsemen who plundered the Frankish coasts in the ninth and tenth centuries. In 912, in order that Frankish territory might be protected against these raids of the Norsemen, the king of the Franks gave to one of them, Rollo the Dane, a district on the north coast. It was called Normandy after the Norse inhabitants. Rollo and his people accepted Christianity and Frankish civilization. Under him and his successors order was maintained, trade developed, and Normandy became one of the most prosperous feudal states of western Europe.

65. William the Conqueror. — William, the seventh duke of Normandy, was one of the greatest and most ambitious of the feudal lords of France. He had made Normandy a united feudal duchy and had himself become a lord more mighty even than his overlord, the French king. No sooner had Harold been elected king of England than William asserted his right to the English throne, on three grounds: first, because as cousin to the childless Edward the Confessor he had a better hereditary title to the throne than had Harold, who was only Edward's brother-in-law; secondly, because on the occasion of a visit to England in 1051, Edward had promised him the inheritance; and finally, because Harold himself, when wrecked on the coast of Normandy some years before, had sworn to help him win the crown.

Very important for the Norman duke was the consent of the pope, who deemed Harold an enemy because he desired an independent English church, a perjurer because he had broken an oath sworn over sacred relics, and a usurper because he had been consecrated without the pope's consent by the archbishop

of York. So the pope blessed the expedition and transformed the feudal adventure into a holy crusade.

ROCHET'S STATUE OF WILLIAM I.

At Falaise in France, William's birthplace. William was the seventh duke of Normandy ; the first six are represented about the base of the statue.

Harold, though acting on the defensive, was weak because of the rivalry among the English earls and the want of military unity and common purpose among the people. Then, too, he had shown a lack of foresight in his dealings with others. He had not kept up the friendly alliance his father had formed with Flanders, which was hostile to William and might at this juncture have checked the expedition; he had offended the pope, whose support was of the greatest aid to William; and, perhaps most important of all, he had quarrelled with his brother Tostig, who deemed Harold responsible for his outlawry.

66. Battle of Stamford Bridge. — Confident of success, Harold was waiting for the attack of the Normans, when he suddenly learned that Tostig had invaded England from the north. With him came Harold Hardrada, boldest of the Viking kings. Eager to meet this danger before William should land in the south, Harold hastened northward, took the enemy by surprise at Stamford Bridge, near York, and defeated them in a brilliant battle, on September 25, 1066. Among the slain were Tostig and Harold Hardrada.

Scarcely was the battle won, when word came that the Normans had landed on the coast of Kent. Immediately Harold, with his huscarls,[1] made forced marches southward, bidding the northern earls follow with the men of their earldoms; but the latter traitorously lagged behind and gave no aid.

67. Battle of Hastings. — Thus Harold was forced to depend on his huscarls and the hastily raised levies from Wessex. Determined to act on the defensive, he took up his position on a small hill a few miles from Hastings, near which the Normans had established their camp. On October 14, 1066, the famous battle was fought. The Normans were formed in a triple line of feudal knights on horseback, with heavy-armed infantry before them, and archers and crossbowmen in the front line. The English under Harold consisted only of the huscarls, clad

[1] Mercenaries attached to the king's household.

HIC : EST : WADARD : HIC : COQUITUR : CARO ET HIC : MINISTRA-VERUNT MINISTRI

Here is Wadard. Here meat is cooked and here the servants serve.

[HIC : FRANCI PUGNANT ET CECI]DERUNT QUI ERANT : CUM HAROLDO ⁚· HIC [HAROLD ⁚· REX ⁚· INTERFECTUS : EST]

Here the French fight and those who were with Harold fell. Here King Harold was slain.

The Bayeux Tapestry is a band of linen two hundred and thirty feet long by twenty inches wide, embroidered with scenes illustrating the Norman Conquest. The figures are worked with worsted of eight different colors. The Tapestry was probably completed during the life of William the Conqueror.

The portions reproduced above contain two important incidents of the invasion. The first shows a party of soldiers foraging for breakfast. The soldiers have driven the English from their square wooden houses and are bringing in sheep, oxen, and pigs. Of the mounted warrior, Wadard, little else is known. He carries a lasso and is interested in a footman who is bringing in a small pack horse. The next scene shows servants cooking the food seized. Two of them are suspending a large pot on forked sticks over a fire. Behind them on a shelf are fowls prepared for broiling. A baker is taking cakes from a stove.

The second portion contains a picture of the last stage of the battle, when the huscarls defend the brow of the hill. In the centre is one of the common soldiers. In the margin Norman archers may be seen. The armor of Normans and Saxons was practically the same, formed of flat rings sewed on a foundation of leather or cloth. The helmet was of steel, with a nose guard; the shield, kite-shaped; the weapons of the Normans were bows and arrows, lances, swords, and battle-axes; those of the Saxons, battle-axes and swords.

in helmets and armor, and bearing two-handed Danish axes. They formed a front line, protected, as they stood shoulder to shoulder, by a wall formed of their joined shields. Behind the huscarls were the light-armed levies of thanes and ceorls, carrying spears, sharpened stakes, and rude implements of agriculture; and on the crown of the hill was raised the standard of Harold, the golden dragon of Wessex. Against this solid mass William hurled his forces in vain. For six hours the battle raged, until at last, having failed to break the English ranks by charges of horsemen and showers of arrows, the Normans ordered a feigned flight in order to draw the English from their position. The ruse succeeded. While the light-armed English levies were pursuing the retreating foe, a body of Norman horsemen thrust themselves between the pursuers and the huscarls on the hill. Fiercely fighting to the last, the huscarls held out till evening, when Harold fell, mortally wounded, and the great battle was over. The Normans were victorious at Hastings because they were better equipped and better disciplined than the English, who, though they knew how to fight, did not know how to manœuvre; and the victory is significant because in winning it the Normans displayed in military matters that same superiority which they were afterward to show in government and law as well.

68. Completion of Conquest. —Further resistance was useless. The earls of the north refused to come to the rescue, and without opposition William marched toward London. There the witan had hastily elected Edgar, grandson of Edmund Ironside, the last male descendant of the house of Alfred, and the northern earls supported him. But when the Normans reached London, Edgar and the earls submitted, and the witan chose William for king. On Christmas day, 1066, the Norman duke was crowned by the archbishop of York, and became the legally elected king of southern England.

But what the south had done could not bind the north. William returned to Normandy in 1067, leaving the government in the hands of two regents. Roused by the excesses of

the Normans, those of the English still unconquered made one final attempt to drive out the invader. But there was no unity of plan or action. William returned from Normandy in December, 1067, took up each contest in turn and won notable victories. This second conquest gave him the name of the Conqueror. Having subdued the English and harried the lands of the north, he crossed the Tweed and forced Malcolm of Scotland to become his vassal. He was then crowned a second time at York in 1069, as if he had become the king of a separate kingdom. By 1071 the last opposition was overcome, and the Normans were the rulers of England.

69. Introduction of the Feudal Land System. — As fast as William conquered the territory, he confiscated the land and either took it himself or distributed it among his followers, who held it in feudal tenure [1] as vassals of the king. Thus for the complicated land system of the English was substituted a perfectly simple arrangement, according to which all land was held feudally of the king. This land law, which was applied first in the south, where great manors,[2] or estates, had already

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[1] The usual form of feudal tenure was by military service. The vassal to whom the king granted land owed for it the service of a certain number of knights, or fighting men. The tenure was called, therefore, tenure by *knights' service*. In this form of tenure the vassal owed also certain payments of money called aids, and the lord had the right to control the inheritance of the land, the marriage and guardianship of the widow and children of his vassal. This system, as William applied it, was new to England, but was well developed in Normandy. William, therefore, brought to England a form of landholding and military service with which he was familiar at home. Still there was much in Anglo-Saxon feudalism that resembled the later feudalism, except that it was more undeveloped, involving simply the general idea of service less military and less definite.

[2] A manor was not so much a stretch of territory as a right of jurisdiction which a lord possessed over people who cultivated the soil or engaged in industry. Frequently, these people lived in a single vill, and in that case the manor and the vill were territorially the same, but sometimes the lord's authority covered men in other vills. We cannot draw a diagram of a manor as we can of a town. The nearest that we can come to it is to say that a manor contained a manor house, a church, one or more vills with open fields, and the lands of certain men elsewhere, over whom the lord of the manor had jurisdiction.

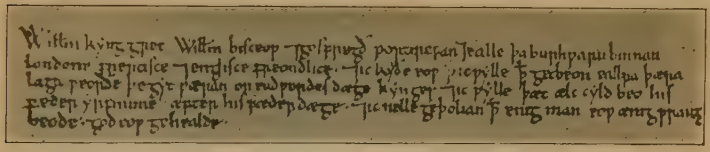
begun to form before the conquest, was extended to the north, which was less ready to receive it because of the great variety of small lands there, held by freemen.[1] In the end, no part of England escaped feudalism in some form.

70. Features of Feudal Tenure. — Three important features of this policy are to be noted: (1) Each great vassal was obliged to render to the king for the land that was granted him the service of a certain number of knights, and to lead them himself to war. The whole number thus furnished amounted to about five thousand knights, who composed the army of the king. (2) The lands thus held were scattered over all England, so that the great vassals had many small estates in different parts of England, but no very large amount in any one locality. This scattering of the vassal's lands, which was due not to any design of the Conqueror, but to the slowness of the conquest, saved England from one of the worst features of Continental feudalism. No man in England could become territorially powerful and independent, as had scores of great lords in France and Germany. The only portions of England that were at all independent were the great earldoms of the north; these border provinces, refusing to recognize the overlordship of either the Scottish or the English kings, were almost like independent states. (3) English feudalism differed from that of the Continent in still another particular. In a great meeting held at Salisbury in 1086 William summoned all the landholders and made them swear allegiance to him as chief lord and king. Thus he laid down the rule that every tenant of land in England, whosesoever vassal he might be, owed allegiance first to the king and then to his own lord, and that, therefore, no English vassal might follow his lord against his king. Thus, while William the Conqueror introduced into England an advanced form of feudalism with a uniform land tenure and a regular knight service, he prevented feudalism in England

[1] Some Englishmen probably still held land by express grant from William But they had to make heavy payments to the king for what they received.

from developing its worst aspects, — the territorial independence of great lords, and private war.

71. William's Government. — William established what the Anglo-Saxons had never had, — a *strong central government.* He was himself at the same time conqueror, king, and paramount feudal lord, of whom all men held their lands. He was



A Portion of the Charter (in Anglo-Saxon) given by William the Conqueror to the City of London.

Translation:

> William, king, greets William, bishop, and Gosfrith, portreeve, and all the burghers within London, French and English, friendly. And I make known unto you that I will that ye two be worthy of all the laws that ye were worthy of in King Edward's day, and I will that each child be his father's heir after his father's day, and I will not suffer that any man do you any wrong. God give you health.

absolute in authority, a very different king from Edward the Confessor, or Harold. The administration that he established was simple and centralized. When he was absent, he placed the government temporarily in the hands of a *justiciar,* who was always an ecclesiastic, that the office of justiciar might not become hereditary. William had also a chancellor, or secretary, who wrote letters, issued writs, and kept the royal seals; and a treasurer, who received the royal revenue and was the guardian of the royal hoard of jewels and coins. This hoard was located first at Winchester — Alfred's capital — and afterward at Westminster, the new abbey church of Edward the Confessor, on the Thames, outside of London.

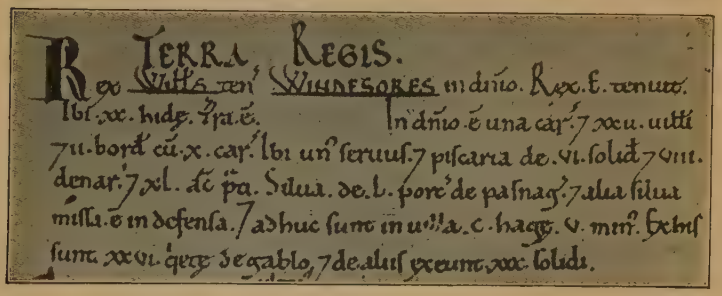
William had also a *council*, called the "great council," which in composition was probably not unlike the old Anglo-Saxon witan. It was composed of the officers already mentioned, together with others of the royal household and certain earls and bishops whom the king desired to summon. Its duties were chiefly judicial, though it also acted as an advisory body to the king. It cannot be said to have limited his authority, for it never opposed him.

72. Local Government. — William broke up the old earldoms, which had been a great danger to monarchy in Anglo-Saxon times, and reduced the office of earl to a merely honorary dignity. He gave chief power into the hands of the sheriff, whose position increased enormously in importance. The sheriff collected the revenues, summoned the shire court and after the Conquest probably presided over it, and called to war the men of the shire, except the knights who were led by their lords.

Though William in substituting the sheriff for the earl strengthened the central authority, in other respects he left *local institutions* much as they had been before. He retained the laws of Edward the Confessor, and preserved the courts of the shire and hundred. Though under the Normans and afterward, the shire court increased in importance, the hundred and the hundred court still remained the centre of local administration for the average freeholder. Here he obtained justice, joined with his neighbors in making up the amount of tax allotted to the hundred, joined with them also in rendering the required military service, went to inquests (see p. 68), joined in the chase after thieves and other criminals, and did other things necessary to keep the peace. Many of the hundreds had fallen into private hands, and the freeholders there served the lord and his court instead of the hundred, though the local life was much the same in either case.

73. William's Sources of Revenue. — Like the old Anglo-Saxon kings, William received revenues from the old royal lands, to which were now added the returns from the many manors which he had confiscated. He had also a share of the

fines and fees from the shire and hundred courts, not under private control, and from his feudal vassals he received the customary feudal payments. He received dues from all markets and fairs held; for the right to grant a market or fair was a royal privilege that the merchants had to pay for. He received all the fines and fees imposed by the great council, and it was to his financial advantage that as many cases as possible should be brought before the council. Consequently,



A Portion of Domesday Book.

Translation of the Latin:

King William holds Windsor in demesne. King Edward held it. There are twenty hides. There is land for [ ]. On the demesne is one plough; and there are twenty-two villeins and two bordars [cottagers] with ten ploughs. There is one serf and a fishery worth six shillings and eight pence; and forty acres of meadow yielding fifty swine for pannage (*i.e.* dues for feeding the swine). Other woodland is placed in enclosure (*i.e.* enclosed in the king's forest). There are besides in the vill one hundred haws less five (*i.e.* ninety-five enclosures probably with houses). Of these, twenty-six are exempt from gafol (payments in kind or money). From the others come thirty shillings.

pleas of the crown, that is, cases specially reserved for the king or his court, largely increased under the Normans.

William was a famous hunter, and made severe forest laws, breaches of which brought in a large revenue. Most valuable of all was the money received from the old Anglo-Saxon national land-tax, Danegeld, which William renewed. That the levy

might be fair and systematic, he caused a great survey of the kingdom to be made. This, the most famous of all William's acts, resulted in the drawing up of Domesday Book, the only record of its kind and one of the most important sources of information for English history.

74. Domesday Book. — In 1085 William sent out commissioners into the shires to get information upon which to base the levying of the tax. They were to go to each shire or county town and to summon before them the chief landholders of the shire, the smaller landholders of the hundred, and villagers from each vill in the hundred, for the purpose of answering questions. This method of inquiry, introduced by the Normans, was called an *inquest*, and out of it, two centuries later, developed trial by jury. The commissioners asked by whom the lands were held, how many hides there were to be taxed, what lands (as, for example, some of the old crown lands) were exempt from taxation, how many villeins there were, how many cattle, how many ploughs, and the like. They made the inquiry hundred by hundred and vill by vill.

When all had been finished and written down in Latin, the record was sent to the king at Westminster. The items were separated and set down not as originally by hundreds and vills, but under the names of the tenants-in-chief, who held the lands within each shire. The final form in which Domesday Book has come down to us is not geographical, but feudal. It is a tax book, designed for the purpose of increasing the revenue of the king. But it is more. It is a witness to the continued existence of the old Saxon local institutions, the shire, the hundred, and the vill, and to the presence of the new system of feudal tenures introduced by the Conqueror.

75. William and the Church. — The Anglo-Saxon church, though recognizing the superior jurisdiction of the Holy See at Rome, had been accustomed to manage its own local affairs and had preserved intact its national character. William had come to England with the blessing of the pope, and was morally bound to bring the English church more directly

under the authority of the papacy. He began by removing the Anglo-Saxon bishops and replacing them with others from the Continent, trained in the ways of the Roman church and devoted to pope and king. Lanfranc was made archbishop of Canterbury, and a few years later the archbishopric of York was made subordinate to that of Canterbury. By making Lanfranc the sole head of the English church, William strengthened the ecclesiastical unity of England.

Lanfranc came to England ready to organize the church and to enforce many of the reforms which Dunstan had tried to introduce. He imposed celibacy upon the clergy, substituted, whenever the opportunity arose, the regular clergy (the monks) for the secular clergy (the priests), and encouraged the coming of monastic orders into England. Wishing to make the church independent of the state, he persuaded the king to issue an ordinance requiring that hereafter bishops and archdeacons, who had hitherto sat in the shire and hundred courts, should have courts of their own and should try ecclesiastical cases not according to local custom, but according to the canon law, that is, the church law. From this time we have church courts or "courts Christian," which tried laymen for breaches of the church law and clerics for any offences, and we see the clergy becoming a distinct order by themselves.

76. William's Power over the Church. — But William was not willing that either church or pope should limit his own power as king of England and of Englishmen. He refused to do homage to Gregory VII. Though he continued the old Anglo-Saxon payment to Rome of a penny on every hearth (Peter's Pence), he forbade that any one in his kingdom should acknowledge a new pope or should receive any papal letters without his consent. He would not allow the English clergy in their convocation to decide anything unless he agreed to it, and he would not suffer the church to try publicly or to excommunicate any of his barons or officers without first referring the matter to him. Thus, while he strengthened the papal authority, he kept it well under his control.

77. Results of the Norman Conquest. — In English history the Norman Conquest is equally important with that of the Anglo-Saxons. It introduced new ideas and practices in land tenure, military service, government and church organization. It established government in the hands of a powerful feudal aristocracy under the king, which held the land and drew from it their revenues; it increased the central power of the king and his council, and it centred justice, taxation, and the military system more and more in the hands of the landowning classes. A separation began between the upper and lower classes, which was to continue for four centuries, and to effect a complete change in the condition of the mass of the people.

The introduction of feudal tenures, the rise of great manorial estates, the heavy taxes which the Normans imposed, decreased the number of small, independent holdings, and brought many free villages under the control of Norman lords. More small freemen than ever were forced to perform services, to make payments to their lords, to be bound to the soil, — that is, to become what we know as villeins. For the next two or three centuries feudalism was at its height in England.

At the same time the Norman Conquest was of lasting benefit to England. It brought the land, the people, and the church out of isolation into contact with Continental life. It introduced symmetry, simplicity, and consolidation into English government and law. It brought about the decline of the old tribal conditions, broke up the unity of the old kindred, led to the abolition of the blood-feuds, wergeld, and the tribal system of justice and punishment, and prepared the way for a higher order of government, law, and industry, and for greater stability and strength in national affairs.

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CHAPTER VII.

FEUDAL ENGLAND.

78. William II. — William the Conqueror, at his death in 1087, left Normandy to his eldest son, Robert. To his second son, William, called Rufus (the Red), he left the English crown; and to his third son, Henry, he left a hoard of money. William Rufus, fearing an uprising of the Norman barons in favor of Robert, threw himself on the support of the English, and, with the aid of Lanfranc, obtained a legal election in 1087. In return, he promised better laws and lighter taxes. But after Lanfranc's death in 1089, he forgot his coronation oath and gave way to his evil passions. He employed every device to obtain money, exercising mercilessly his feudal rights. He also kept vacant the see of Canterbury, and took the revenues himself for four years. Finally, in 1093, falling sick, he repented, and appointed as archbishop the saintly Anselm. But recovering, he again forgot his oath, and continued his evil course. The burden of his feudal exactions fell chiefly upon the holders of great estates, who were in the main of Norman stock. But at the same time his tampering with the management of the local courts, the buying and selling of justice, and the pardoning of criminals for a bribe caused great hardship among the masses of the people, the native English. The great landholders, seeking from their tenantry reimbursement for their losses, increased the popular distress. No one mourned when, in 1100, William was killed while hunting in the New Forest, which his father had created.

79. Henry I. — In order to forestall the claims of his elder brother, Robert, Henry hastened to London and demanded the crown. After some opposition, he was elected king, August 5,

1100. Then, in order to strengthen his position, he recalled Anselm, who had fled from William Rufus in 1097. At the same time he promised to respect the laws of Edward the Confessor, and most important of all, issued a charter of liberties correcting the evil practices of William Rufus. In this charter he bound himself to respect the freedom of the church and to leave church revenues unmolested during a vacancy; to exact reasonable and just feudal dues; to establish peace and the laws of Edward in the kingdom; and he demanded that his barons should treat their vassals as he was treating them. In order to bind the English more closely to him, he married Edyth, whom the Normans called Matilda, daughter of Malcolm of Scotland, the youngest and last of the house of Alfred the Great.

From an engraving.

HENRY I.

80. Henry's Troubles with Normandy. — During the first nine years of his reign, Henry had great trouble because of Normandy. His elder brother, Robert, returned in 1100 from the First Crusade, and was welcomed by a considerable party of Norman lords, who supported his claim to the English throne. Louis VI of France aided Robert, hoping to weaken the Norman house by encouraging war between its leading members.

Henry was aided not only by his Norman followers, but by the English as well. With a bribe of three thousand marks a year he bought off Robert. He crossed the channel in 1104 and subdued "almost all the castles and the chief men" in the land of Normandy. Finally, when Robert renewed the conflict, Henry won the battle of Tinchebrai (1106) and thus became master of Normandy. The struggle, in which the English had cooperated with their king, bound more closely Norman king and English people, and promoted that unity which was to make of two peoples one nation.

81. The Investiture Struggle. — During Henry's reign a new issue arose. The ecclesiastical lords, bishops and abbots, were great *landowners*, and as such were *feudal vassals* of the crown. For three centuries, on the Continent and in England, the great overlords had been accustomed to *invest* these archbishops and bishops with the signs of their office, that is, to confer upon them not only their feudal lands, but also the *ring* and the *staff*, emblems of their spiritual power.[1] Gregory VII, one of the greatest of the popes, determined to rid the church of this interference of the secular lords. During the reign of William Rufus, Anselm had asserted the independence of the church, when he refused to receive the *pallium*, the spiritual badge of his office, from the hands of the king. Because of the quarrel that followed, Anselm fled from England in 1097. After Henry's accession he returned, and renewed the struggle over the question of investiture with the ring and the staff. From 1102 to 1107 the archbishop refused to recognize the king's right of investiture, and twice was exiled from England because he would not do homage and receive investiture for his see. But Henry was involved in war with his brother Robert, and wanted the aid of Anselm and the English people: a compromise was reached; the king gave up the right of

[1] The ring was the signet or seal ring of the bishop, the staff the symbol of the bishop's authority over his flock. The archbishop received in addition from the pope the *pallium*, the chief badge of his authority, a band of white lamb's wool embroidered with black crosses, with two pendants attached.

investiture with ring and staff, the spiritual symbols, and Anselm agreed that bishops should do homage to the king for the lands which they held, their temporal power.

82. Henry's Administrative Changes. — The government under Henry was about the same as it had been under William the Conqueror. The justiciar became, however, a permanent officer, and out of the *great council* a small council of barons was created for (1) financial and (2) judicial purposes. 1. When dealing with finances, this body took the name of the *Exchequer*, and sat twice a year, in spring and autumn. 2. When rendering justice it was called the *curia regis*, or king's court. This court dealt only with exceptional matters, such as disputes between the great lords, and such pleas of the crown as were tried before the king, for the *curia regis* at this time followed the king wherever he went. At times the king sent one or more of the members of this smaller council into the counties to look after the revenues, and to hear cases which specially concerned the king.

83. Stephen and Matilda. — In 1135 Henry died without a legitimate male heir to succeed him. In 1126 he had called his widowed daughter, Matilda, back to England and had secured her recognition by the barons as heir to the throne. Matilda, therefore, based her right to the throne on her descent and on the oaths sworn by the barons. Stephen of Blois, count of Boulogne, son of William the Conqueror's daughter, strenuously disputed this claim and on the death of Henry in 1135 hastened to England. There the people and the barons, reluctant to see a woman on the throne of England, accepted him as king. Stephen was informally elected at London. Matilda in despair appealed to Rome, but the pope sent a letter to Stephen confirming him in the possession of the kingdom. Thus Stephen based his title to the throne upon election and coronation, and upon the consent of the pope. In return he confirmed the good laws and customs of his uncle and of Edward the Confessor, and in a second charter promised to respect the liberty of the church.

84. War between Stephen and Matilda. — The struggle that followed between the two claimants to the throne is sometimes called the "nineteen years of anarchy." Stephen was not a strong man; the great lords went from one side to the other as they pleased and were ready to follow the party that would offer them the greatest rewards. Feudal anarchy broke loose. The building of castles, which had begun with the Norman Conquest, went on with great rapidity. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* pictures graphically the misery of the land. Some men were beaten and tortured, others died of hunger; towns were plundered and burnt, churches destroyed, monks and priests robbed. "The earth bare no corn . . . and it was openly said that Christ and his saints slept." Stephen did not keep his promises, discontent increased, and the cause of Matilda became the rallying point of the enemies of the king. Matilda's uncle, David, king of the Scots, espoused her cause and invaded England. He was defeated in the battle of the Standard (1138), where Stephen's men drove back the Scots with great slaughter. Stephen, strengthened by this victory, struggled against the rapidly growing rebellion in the south, where one after another the Norman earls were rising against him. He was brave, but without resources, and his condition drove

From an engraving.

STEPHEN.

him to desperation. He debased the coinage, imported mercenaries, and raised up new earls to aid him. He also offended the clergy at the very moment when Matilda, arriving in England for the first time, placed herself at the head of her own cause. Stephen was defeated and captured at the battle of Lincoln in 1141, and Matilda was chosen "Lady of England" by the barons, April 7–8, 1141. They did not, however, crown her queen.

But Matilda's triumph was brief. Stephen's queen raised reënforcements in Kent and effected by exchange the release of the king. Matilda had offended her followers by her haughtiness and could gain no new support. So, despairing of further success, she withdrew from the struggle and retired to the Continent. Stephen reigned for the next five years in comparative peace.

85. The Angevins. — But Matilda's cause was not lost. Henry, her son by her second husband, Geoffrey of Anjou, renewed the struggle for his mother, but met with little success. After his return to France in 1150, his power vastly increased. He was invested with Normandy by his mother in 1151, and soon after the death of his father, received Anjou, Touraine, and Maine, feudal states in France. In 1152 he married Eleanor of Aquitaine, whom Louis VII of France had foolishly divorced, and received as her dowry the great duchy of Acquitaine. Thus he was the most powerful lord in France, when in 1153 he prepared to take final issue with Stephen in a struggle for the English crown.

86. The Treaty of Wallingford. — Henry landed in England in June, 1153. Nearly eighteen years had passed since the struggle began and a new generation of men had arisen. Normans and English were becoming fused into one people, and a strong desire for peace everywhere prevailed. Eustace, the son of Stephen, died in 1153, and for Stephen the loss of his heir changed the whole aspect of the struggle. At Wallingford negotiations were begun and a treaty was finally signed in 1153. According to its terms Stephen adopted Henry as his

heir, and Henry in his turn recognized the right of Stephen to reign peacefully as long as he lived. This compact was kept. Stephen remained king of England till his death in October, 1154, and Henry was crowned at London the December following.

87. Results of Stephen's Reign. — Though outwardly a time of war and chaos, the reign of Stephen was in some respects marked by a steady development. The *two peoples*, Normans and English, suffering the same miseries and fighting the same battles, were becoming one. The crown and the feudal barons emerged from the conflict weakened rather than strengthened; the *church* alone gained. Taking advantage of the disorganization of the state, it sprang at once into prominence, establishing its independence and advancing its claims to control the election of the king and to interfere in temporal affairs. The ecclesiastical courts extended their jurisdiction, monasticism flourished, and learning increased. The beginnings of the University of Oxford can be seen. The *towns*, engaging in commerce and thereby growing in wealth and power, were becoming places of refuge for the oppressed. Most important of all, the evils of an *unrestrained feudalism*, the rise to prominence of new and more lawless feudal lords, and the steady descent of the villager class into a deeper serfdom taught men severe lessons and made them more eager to accept the rule of a strong king, despotic though he might be. On this account the English welcomed the coming of Henry II.

CHAPTER VIII.

HENRY II. — JOHN: STRUGGLE OF MONARCHY WITH THE CHURCH AND FEUDALISM.

88. Henry II. — Henry II was more than king of England: he was feudal lord of half of France, and was connected, by blood or marriage, with the chief princes of Europe. During the thirty-five years of his reign he spent all together but thirteen in England; the centre of his activity was France, where he was maintaining his feudal claims. He was a man of unbounded activity, a clear-headed statesman and law-giver, and an ambitious ruler. It is true he was rash and intemperate, but he chose excellent councillors and was always ready to accept advice.

89. Henry restores Peace. — As soon as he was crowned Henry began to restore order and peace, as he had promised. He ordered all the illegal castles — erected without the king's permission — to be razed to the ground, and took steps to recover the royal estates that had been given away both by Matilda and Stephen in their attempt to gain followers. Then he turned his attention to strengthening the central government and to raising monarchy from its low estate. What England needed was a strong central power to create a common law for the land and to bring unity into its life and government.

90. Henry's Administrative Measures. — Henry's frequent absences from England, settling feudal difficulties in France, made necessary such changes in administration as would enable the government to go on without him. England was comparatively small and compact, many of the dangerous feudal lords had been slain or had died, and most of the leading men sympathized with Henry in his determination to establish a strong

I

Feudal Possessions of Henry II in France, 1154.

II

Angevin Fiefs in France after the death of John, 1216–1223.

V

Extension of Possessions of English King in France by the Treaty of Bretigny, 1360.

VI

Extent of Territory in France possessed or controlled by the English Kings after victories of Henry V. and just before the appearance of Joan of Arc. 1429.

III

in Fiefs in after the of 1259 with and the mental of 1279.

IV

Feudal Possessions of the English King, Edward III, in France on the Eve of the Hundred Years' War, 1340.

II

in 1453, Calais Channel the last ons of the Kings in France itory of Charles Agreen), the of Brittany, the of Armagnac, and the m of Navarre. ndary line on the arks the limit French Kingdom.

ENGLAND and FRANCE, 1154-1453.

SCALE OF MILES.

0 50 100 200 300 400

Feudal Possessions of Angevin Kings.

Lands of the French Kings.

Independent Fiefs in France.

central government. The king selected laymen as his justiciars, and invested them with almost regal power. Under them the same officers existed as in the days of Henry I. The small board of barons, called the *Exchequer* when performing financial duties, and the *king's court* (*curia regis*) when exercising judicial functions, continued their semi-annual meetings. But the *treasurer* of the Exchequer now became *permanent*, and under him was organized a staff of expert clerks, who did the routine work and remained at Westminster for a much longer time than did the barons. To this permanent board the sheriffs brought the revenues from each shire, which included the revenues from the royal estates, the proceeds from fines, the Danegeld when levied, and the money arising from the aids and incidental payments of the feudal tenants, such as arose from inheritances, marriages, wardships, escheats, and alienations of the fief.[1]

91. The Sheriff. — Under Henry II the sheriff became the most important of those officials in the kingdom that had to do with local administration. He was always appointed by the king and was generally possessed of great estates within the district that he administered, and in some instances at least

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[1] In addition to military service the vassal owed his lord certain *aids and incidents* : 1. Feudal aids or payments on three special occasions, (*a*) when the lord was to be *ransomed from captivity*, (*b*) when his *eldest son was knighted*, and (*c*) when his *eldest daughter was married for the first time*. 2. There were five chief feudal incidents : (*a*) the *relief* was a payment made by the heir or new tenant on the death of the father or the former tenant; (*b*) *wardship* was the right of the lord to control the revenues of the fief during the minority (twenty-one for a male, fourteen for a female) of the heir, and this carried with it the further right to control the marriage of the heir; (*c*) *marriage* was the right of the lord to control the marriage of the heiress, when there was no male heir, and at times this included the right to control the marriage of a widow; (*d*) *forfeiture* or *escheat* was the right of a lord to take back the fief if the vassal had no heir or had committed one of the grave crimes called felonies; (*e*) *alienation* was the right of the lord to prevent alienation or the selling or giving away of a fief. Any of these rights could be sold by the lord to another if he liked or could be bought by the vassal on paying a fine. The reason why these rights existed is that the lord was dependent on his vassals for aid and support, and could not afford to let the fiefs pass in any way into other hands, particularly those of an enemy.

succeeded in making his office hereditary. As the special representative of the king and vested with great authority he became a powerful local autocrat, and because he abused his position in order to make profit for himself, he was probably the most feared and hated man in the shire.

In order to place a check upon the sheriffs Henry continued his grandfather's policy of sending occasionally one or more of his barons of the king's court into the shires (p. 68). These barons (itinerant justices) were (1) to see that the sheriffs assessed the lands and collected the revenues justly, and (2) to hear such of the pleas of the crown as the king could not hear in his own court and would not allow to be settled in the local courts. Thus in matters of finance and justice the king was beginning to increase the power of the central authority. In so doing he was lessening the power obtained by the feudal lords during the anarchy of Stephen's reign.

92. Scutage. — To the same end Henry encouraged a practice that had grown up, affecting the most important of the feudal obligations, the duty of military service. William the Conquerer had required of his chief tenants a certain number of knights for the feudal army. The tenants generally got these knights by letting out a portion of the land which they held of the king to sub-vassals, on condition that the latter follow them when required in the service of the king. This subletting of land was called *subinfeudation,* and was begun soon after the Conquest.

But sometimes the great vassals were not able to meet in this way their obligations to the king, and had to hire extra knights to make up the number required of them. This practice of hiring soldiers led many of the knights who held land of a tenant-in-chief on condition of military service, to offer a money payment, instead of their service, to the king. The money thus paid by the knight was called *scutage* (shield money, from *scutum,* a shield).[1] The king favored the payment

[1] Tenants-in-chief were never allowed to pay scutage.

of scutage by the knights because the feudal army could not be compelled to serve for more than forty days at a time and was always more or less unreliable. With money the king could hire paid knights, or he could use the scutage in any other way that he pleased.

93. Effect of Scutage. — The growth of the practice soon altered the character of the knights, who henceforth ceased to be soldiers and became landholders and farmers, devoting themselves to agriculture and to the affairs of the shire and shire court. Scutage continued to be levied at intervals for another century and a half as a tax on feudal lands. It helped to break down the feudal military system and led to the rise of a new class of landholders in the shire, the landed gentry, who played a very important part in English history as *knights of the shire.*

94. Henry's Quarrel with the Church: Thomas à Becket. — Henry was interrupted in his work of centralizing administration and justice by a famous quarrel with the church, which illustrates his determination to make the state supreme in ecclesiastical matters, also.

From 1154 to 1163 he had met with no serious obstacles in the task of governing England, but in the latter year trouble arose with the church in the person of Thomas à Becket. When Henry came to the throne he had made Becket chancellor of England. In this position Becket had served his king loyally, even against the clergy themselves. His life had been luxurious, he had surrounded himself with courtiers, and entertained sumptuously. He was a minister after the king's own heart.

In 1161 Henry wished to make Becket archbishop of Canterbury. Becket resisted, knowing that as archbishop he must serve not the king, but the pope, the head of the church. Henry persisted. In 1162 he forced Becket's election as archbishop of Canterbury, believing that he would find in him as faithful an ally as William I had found in Lanfranc. But he made a grievous mistake. No sooner had Becket taken the

oath of office than his whole life changed. He threw off pride and luxury, became humble and austere, and surrounded himself with studious and pious ecclesiastics. He resigned his chancellorship and determined to defend at every point the entire independence of the clergy. The position of the church, due to its growth during Stephen's reign, was now one of great power, almost that of a state within a state.

95. The Constitutions of Clarendon. — The conflict between the king and the church came when Henry undertook a new reform that touched the latter's privileges. William I had given the church separate ecclesiastical courts in which clerks[1] only could be tried. No matter if a clerk had been guilty of most grievous crimes, such as murder, he could not be tried in the civil courts. Too often guilty clerks had gone free or suffered mild punishments. This abuse Henry determined to remedy by making clerks subject to the royal courts. But Becket answered that ecclesiastics ought to be exempt from all temporal justice, that the church was independent of the state. Henry, enraged at Becket's resistance, assembled a great council at the royal hunting seat of Clarendon, near Salisbury, and forced Becket and the bishops, for the sake of peace, to assent to a "recognition of some part of the customs, liberties, and dignities of his ancestors." Then a commission was appointed to draw up a record of these customs. The report of this committee is now known as the Constitutions of Clarendon.

The principal points were: (1) that a clerk accused of crime should first be summoned before a temporal court and there be charged with his guilt, that he should then be tried, convicted, and degraded in an ecclesiastical court, and thus having become a *layman*, should be brought back to the temporal court and be given a layman's punishment, mutilation or death; (2) that no one should leave the kingdom without the permission of the king or without taking oath not to do anything to

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[1] "Clerk" was the name for any ecclesiastic of this time — bishop, priest, or deacon.

the injury of the king or the kingdom; (3) that none of the king's tenants or ministers should be excommunicated or his lands placed under interdict[1] without the consent of the king or his justiciar; (4) that an appeal in an ecclesiastical matter should be from the archbishop's court not to the *pope*, but to the *king*.[2]

Nearly all the clauses simply defined the relations of church and state as they had been before the days of Stephen. The quarrel between Henry and Becket was due to the fact that the former was standing for the customs of his ancestors, the latter for the new claims of the church.

96. Becket's Exile and Death. — Becket, after long consideration, definitely refused to accept the constitutions. Henry, exceedingly angry, called a second council and summoned the archbishop to answer certain charges concerning his feudal obligations. Becket refused to appear, and judgment was given against him. When Henry pushed the matter farther and demanded an account of certain money in his possession when chancellor, Becket fled from England in disguise and entered into voluntary exile. The pope was engaged in a conflict with the emperor, Frederick Barbarossa, and did not dare excommunicate Henry, whose daughter had married an ally of the pope. Therefore Becket fought the battle almost alone. But he fought well. He refused to institute bishops chosen since his departure, excommunicated the chief advisers of the king, encouraged Louis VII of France, with whom he had found refuge, to attack Henry's French possessions, and finally persuaded the pope to threaten England with an interdict (1170).

Henry, yielding in part, became reconciled with Becket, and

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[1] Interdict deprived a certain territory, either the whole or a part of a kingdom, of church services, the sacraments, and the right of burial under the auspices of the priest. The extent and character of the punishment varied greatly.

[2] The constitutions declared that a consecrated church or cemetery, usually a sanctuary for a criminal, should not be used to protect goods forfeited to the king.

the latter, after six years of exile, returned to England. But he refused to abandon his aggressive policy. He suspended the bishop of Durham and the archbishop of York, who had dared to crown Henry's son in his absence (1170). The bishops fled to Henry, who was in France, and told their tale. Henry

From a photograph.

CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL, FROM THE NORTH.
It was from this side that Becket's slayers entered the cathedral.

in angry despair cried out, "Is there no one among all the cowards whom I have nourished who will rid me of this miserable clerk?" Unwilling to act illegally, he summoned a council, which deemed Becket deserving of death.

But the matter had already been taken out of his hands. Four knights, hearing the king's words, had sought out Becket at Canterbury and there murdered him, on the steps leading from the transept to the choir of the cathedral. This act raised Becket to the place of a martyr and turned the world against

Henry. For centuries Becket was the most popular of the English saints, and thousands of persons each year made pilgrimages to his tomb at Canterbury.

With the greatest difficulty, Henry turned aside the papal excommunication. He gave large sums to charity, annulled some of the provisions of Clarendon,[1] and made a pilgrimage himself to Canterbury.

97. Feudal Reaction against Henry. — The resistance of Becket was to find its counterpart in an attempt of the feudal lords to check the rapidly growing power of the king, and to recover the position they had had in the early years of Stephen's reign. The murder of Becket, which seemed to be only another act of royal despotism, deepened the anger of the English baronage, while the humiliation of the king seemed to offer a favorable opportunity for an expression of their discontent. Already aroused by the financial and judicial measures of Henry, they were still more incensed at this time by a further attack on their feudal prerogatives. In 1170, when Henry returned to England, he was greeted with so many complaints of the tyranny of the sheriffs that he deprived the majority of the barons of their positions as sheriffs and placed in their stead men of lower rank, who became regular officers of the crown. This "inquisition" of sheriffs not only reduced in importance the office itself, but it also broke down the local influence of many a wealthy lord who as sheriff had controlled his shire.

98. Revolt of the Barons. — The aggrieved barons found a leader in the king's own household. His eldest son, Henry, dissatisfied with the estates and the authority allowed him by his father, and aided by his mother, Eleanor of Aquitaine, headed a revolt, the signal for a great uprising of all who had a grievance against the king. French lords and English

[1] Out of Henry's concessions in 1176 came what was to be known later as "benefit of clergy," the privilege by which not only the clergy, but any one able to read, could commit crime without being tried under the ordinary criminal law. This practice was very much modified after the fifteenth century, but it was not done away with entirely until the nineteenth century.

barons, headed by young Henry and the king of France, formed a menacing coalition. Even the king of Scots joined the league, and with the bishop of Durham, lord of a powerful northern bishopric, was preparing to invade England.

Never did Henry's activity and generalship display itself to better advantage, and never did the support given by the English people stand him in better stead. The weakness of the opposition lay in its lack of unity. Henry was able to meet each movement separately. Crossing to France in 1172, he forced Louis VII to a peace, and added to his other possessions there the country of Brittany. Meanwhile, his justiciars had checked the uprising in northern England so that on his return he completely subdued the revolt and forced the king of the Scots to acknowledge himself the vassal of the English king. Other lords surrendered to Henry their castles, which he dismantled, and thus brought to an end the last serious feudal uprising that was to take place in England.

99. Henry's Work for Justice, the Army, and the Finances. — With the feudal uprising suppressed, Henry at once prepared to go on with his great work of improving local methods of *justice* and of extending the royal authority from Westminster out into the shires, thus substituting for the many feudal customs a common law in England. In 1166, during his trouble with Becket, he had found time to issue an ordinance called the Assize[1] of Clarendon. By this assize he had instructed his sheriffs, in every case of murder, robbery, and theft, to summon the men of the hundred and of the vills near which the crime occurred, to make inquiry of them regarding it, and to arrest the man whom the villagers accused. This was the first application of the Norman *inquest* to matters of justice,

[1] Assize meant at first a sitting, that is, an assembly or court; then the name was given to the enactments of the court, as in this case; then to the cases to which such enactments or ordinances applied. The modern term, the assizes, for the court held before a circuit judge in England, is simply a survival from the time when these judges heard cases provided for in these old enactments.

and did away with the old method of calling in oath-helpers, compurgators (p. 48). The accused was then taken by the sheriff before the justice, whom the king sent from Westminster to hear pleas of the crown in the shires.

In 1176 by the Assize of Northampton the king revised the Assize of Clarendon, omitting all reference to the sheriffs and enlarging and defining the powers of the justices of the king, who henceforth became the chief representatives of royal justice in the local districts. These *itinerant justices*, travelling on circuit through the shires, were to take cognizance of forgery and arson, as well as of murder and robbery, and were to make inquiry through twelve of the most lawful knights of the hundred, or if knights could not be obtained, through twelve qualified freemen of the hundred and four men from each vill, regarding the circumstances of such crimes.

In the instructions to the itinerant justices there appears a new officer, — *crowner*, or *coroner*, — to be elected in the county court from among the knights of the county, whose business it was to take care of all persons guilty of offences against the king, that is, to guard the pleas of the crown, and to produce them when the justices came into the county. It would appear that sometimes the coroners themselves tried cases of this character. The appointment of the coroner was distinctly a blow at the judicial power of the sheriff.

By the same assize the king went beyond the cases known as the pleas of the crown and offered to protect in the royal courts any man's freehold property when it was in danger of seizure by that man's lord. He not only instructed his justices to make inquiry, through twelve qualified men, regarding such cases, but he said that any one who applied might have such a case tried in the king's courts. This extension of the king's justice weakened the feudal lord's control over the property of his free tenants; for after this, as far as the possession or ownership of property went, every free tenant looked for justice not to the lord of whom he held his land, but to the king's court.

100. Assize of Arms: the Militia. — Henry also reconstructed the *military* system. He had already weakened the feudal army by encouraging the practice of scutage; and as he did not like to be dependent on hired soldiers, he increased and made more efficient the old popular levies, demanding in the Assize of Arms (1181) that every freeman should be armed and ready for military service. Knights, burghers, and freeholders were to have always at the service of the king arms and armor according to their wealth.[1] The itinerant justices were to summon local juries to determine the property of each freeman and to apportion the arms to be provided. Thus Henry created a new fighting force for England.

In 1188 a *financial* step of great moment was taken. The summons for the Third Crusade had gone forth, and England endeavored to raise money by a special imposition called the Saladin tithe. Hitherto the only general tax, Danegeld, had been laid on land, but now for the first time a tax was laid on revenues and movable property. In determining the value of such property, each man was allowed to state the amount that he possessed; but in case his word was doubted, a jury of neighbors was called in to testify.

In all these particulars — judicial, military, and financial — the king was creating a uniform law for England, was extending the power of his own officials, and was undermining the strength of the feudal lords. He was doing more; he was bringing the central and local institutions more closely together, and, what is extremely important, was laying the foundation of the *common law*[2] of England. But for the work of Henry and his justices England might have had for her law the Roman law, as have most of the European countries to-day, or else the

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[1] No one except a freeman could serve in the army. Jews were forbidden to have arms, and ecclesiastics were exempted.

[2] *Common law* must be distinguished from *statute law*, that is, laws passed by a law-making body. There was, of course, no statute law at this time. It must be distinguished also from local customs or *customary law*, from *Roman law*, and from the law of the church courts, *ecclesiastical law*.

conflicting mass of customary law of the shires, half tribal, half feudal, which had prevailed in England up to this time. By the use of the inquest, in all cases where it was possible, he was increasing the efficiency of local administration and uniting more firmly crown and people. Through the rules laid down by the justices of his court, with some help from the Roman law and much material from the customary law, he was constructing a definite, uniform system of English law, common to the whole country

101. Henry and Ireland. — In Henry's reign began the attempt of the English to conquer Ireland, and to bring the half-civilized Celtic tribes under the authority of the English king. The right to rule Ireland had been granted to Henry by Pope Hadrian IV, the only English pope, on the ground that all islands belonged to the jurisdiction of the papacy, a striking instance of the claims of the church at this time. Henry himself went to Ireland, but accomplished little, the only result being the establishment of a claim to the island, that was not made good for four centuries.

102. Henry's Last Years. — The last years of this great king were for him a time of perplexity and sorrow, and the trouble came not from England or Ireland, but from France. The French kings were doing exactly what Henry was doing — building up a strong monarchy and warring against the feudal lords. The king of England was the lord of half of France; and therefore the French kings were always willing to take the side of the enemies of the English king, whoever they might be. Louis VII had aided Becket, and now Philip II (Augustus) took advantage of the discontent of Henry's sons to urge them to revolt against their father. He first aided the eldest son, Henry (p. 85), and after the latter's death, conspiring with Richard and John, stirred up war in which Henry II suffered defeat.

In the midst of his troubles Henry died, July, 1189. He was a great king, victor in the struggle with feudalism in his own kingdom, but when, as a feudal lord himself, he sought

to maintain his position in the face of the rising French monarchy he was defeated.

103. Richard Cœur de Lion (1189–1199). — On the death of Henry II, Richard was declared king, without opposition, and at his coronation promised to defend the church, to maintain the rights of his people, to eradicate bad laws, and to uphold good ones. But these promises were to have no fulfilment at his hands. He was a brave man, but a bad king. His heart was in the crusade for the rescue of Jerusalem, and he gave no thought to the needs of the English.

His reign of ten years was spent almost entirely out of England, either in the Holy Land, on the Third Crusade, in captivity in Germany, or in France warring against Philip Augustus. He was a warrior and knight, not a statesman or a king. Bold and impetuous, loving great deeds and romantic adventures, he was the typical crusader of his day, the knight-errant, the hero of song and story. Reckless with his own life, he was cruel in his treatment of others; and outspoken in his hates, he made enemies who were constantly intriguing against him. It was fortunate for Richard that his father had established a firm administration, for Richard paid no attention to the government, and it is well for England that he did not, for he had none of his father's genius and could only have made matters worse, had he attempted to rule. Immediately after his coronation, Richard began to raise money for a crusade.

104. The Crusades. — Pilgrimages were a leading feature of mediæval life. They were made to shrines and holy places, the holiest of all being the Sepulchre of Christ in Jerusalem in Palestine. The steady stream of pilgrims which had visited the Holy Land was stopped in 1076, when the Turks captured Jerusalem, the Holy City. Returning pilgrims told of their persecution by the Turks, and at the call of the pope an expedition was planned to free the Holy Land.

The Crusades thus started lasted in one form or another for two centuries. Feudal lords and their men, peasants, even women and children, aroused by the advance of the Turks and

restless within the narrow boundaries of their feudal life, eagerly seized the opportunity to go to the rescue of the Holy Land. Thousands, by land and water, journeyed to the East, passing through countries they had never heard of and coming into contact with new peoples, whose culture was far higher than their own. The effect of these expeditions was indirectly very beneficial. Though the Holy Land was eventually lost, the Turk was checked and the Eastern Empire preserved for two centuries longer. Men's ideas were broadened, their knowledge increased, trade and commerce were vastly extended, new articles of dress and food introduced, methods of navigation improved, systems of banking and credit established, and in general, manufacturing and industry gained at the expense of agriculture. To the influence of the Crusades may be traced some of the causes for the growth of towns and the rise of the industrial classes.

A Crusader. Showing the chain armor and the cross on the helmet.

The First Crusade (1095–1099) resulted in the capture of Jerusalem. The Second Crusade (1147–1149) against the Turks, who were again encroaching upon the Holy Land, was from a military standpoint unsuccessful. The Third Crusade (1189–1192), due to the capture of Jerusalem by the Turks, was led by Frederick Barbarossa, Philip Augustus, and Richard Cœur de Lion and proved to be the most famous and romantic of them all. To raise money for this expedition Richard declared offices vacant and put them up for sale to the highest bidder. He agreed, with the pope's consent, that those who desired should remain at home, provided they paid for the privilege. He sold charters to the towns, and for ten thousand marks released William the Lion of Scotland from his oath of fealty (p. 86).

Having raised a goodly sum of money, he embarked on the crusade, December 11, 1189. During the ensuing three years Europe rang with his exploits, while England under his justiciar was governed with a firm hand.

105. Richard's Ransom. — In 1193, on his way home from Jerusalem, which he had failed to take, Richard was captured and handed over to the emperor Henry VI, son of Frederick Barbarossa. This capture was a great event for the emperor, since Richard had been the ally of the emperor's enemies in Sicily and Germany. In April the news of the capture reached England, and strenuous efforts were made to raise the money that the emperor demanded for the ransom of the king. The justiciar called upon every one, lay or clerical, to give a fourth part of his income for the year and a like portion of his personal property. From each knight was demanded twenty shillings as the regular aid for the ransom of a lord. Monasteries and churches were not exempt: the Cistercians, the great sheep-raising monks, gave up a whole year's shearing of wool, and the churches surrendered all their plate and jewels. The total sum finally raised was 150,000 marks (a mark = 13*s.* 4*d.*), an amount said to be twice as large as the whole revenue of the kingdom; and Richard was released in 1194. The news was not welcome to Philip Augustus, who informed John, Richard's brother, that "he had better look out, for the devil was loose."

106. Richard and Philip Augustus. — When Richard returned in 1194, he spent only two months in England, selling offices, receiving gifts, and imposing fines and taxes in order to raise money for carrying on his war with France and for making further payments on his ransom. Thus equipped, he continued his struggle with Philip Augustus, defeating him in 1194 and driving the French out of Normandy, Touraine, and Maine. The French king could make no headway against him, and was compelled to bide his time in patience. The opportunity came, when in 1199 Richard was killed on a freebooting expedition, and John became king of England.

The reign of Richard is constitutionally important because it shows the strength of the system established by Henry II, which continued to work with great efficiency, even though there was no king in England. It is also significant in that it shows how the baronage and the people were learning to act unitedly against a king's oppressive financial policy.

107. King John. — John is by common repute the worst king that ever ruled in England. The favorite son of his father, who had sought to find for his son a kingdom in Ireland, he had deserted Henry at the critical moment and gone over to the side of Philip. He proved equally thankless to Richard, who had given him control over five shires in England to compensate him for having been left without fiefs at his father's death.[1] His character was base, his temperament sensual, and his motives of the lowest sort. He had neither the ability of his father nor the heroism of his brother, and though he was energetic and resourceful, he lacked sagacity and gave way to passionate impulses. A man of this type was no match for the patient, cautious, and persistent Philip Augustus.

108. Loss of the French Lands. — Philip was but waiting to drive the Angevins out of France. Aiding the younger Henry against Richard, Richard and John against their father, and John against Richard, he was now ready to wage bitter war with John himself, and to support the cause of Arthur, who claimed the English throne as son of Geoffrey, John's elder brother, who had died. John, obtaining a divorce from his English wife, Isabel of Gloucester, married Isabel of Angoulême, already betrothed to the son of the Count of la Marche, his own vassal. The offended family at once appealed to Philip, who, as John's superior feudal lord in France, seized this opportunity to obtain a legal sanction for an attack on the Angevin lands. Philip summoned John to answer for his conduct before a court of feudal lords. John delayed, promised, and again delayed. In 1202 the court, in accordance with

[1] From this circumstance John received the name of Lackland.

feudal law, declared him guilty of felony, which meant forfeiture of his fiefs in France. Philip now took up the cause of Arthur, John's nephew. A war between John and Arthur resulted in the capture of the latter in 1202. At this juncture Arthur disappears from history, probably slain by John's own hand. The murder of Arthur gave Philip the desired opportunity of carrying out the judgment of the feudal court of 1202. He seized Normandy, Anjou, Maine, and Touraine, and added these fiefs to the French kingdom. Though John made a desperate effort to recover his lands, the Angevin possessions were practically lost to the English kings

From an engraving.

King John.

109. John and the Church. — John now went rapidly from bad to worse. His best councillors had died: his mother, the energetic queen Eleanor, in 1204, and Archbishop Hubert Walter in 1205. De-

prived of their wise and restraining influence, John forced a quarrel with the church, with which his relations had thus far been amicable. The trouble concerned a successor to Archbishop Hubert Walter. John claimed the right, which certainly had been exercised by his predecessors, of naming the archbishop. But the bishops of the province of Canterbury asserted that the right was theirs. In a quandary, Innocent III appointed his own candidate, Stephen Langton. Langton was an English cardinal residing at Rome, an able and learned ecclesiastic. He was consecrated in June, 1207.

John refused to receive or to recognize the new archbishop, and the issue between the pope and the king was sharply defined. John confiscated the estates of the archbishop, and of many of the bishops who supported Langton. Innocent replied, placing England under an interdict. Churches were closed; the sacraments of marriage and the Eucharist were forbidden; extreme unction, burials, and baptisms were performed only in private. For five years the king remained obstinate. In 1209 Innocent excommunicated John, but the king answered by seizing the estates of the bishops who published the bull of excommunication. In 1212 Innocent deposed John and formed a coalition, with Philip Augustus as its willing head, to undertake a crusade for the purpose of driving John out of England. Threatened by an uprising of the Welsh and Scots, and terrified by a prophecy that he would cease to be king by Ascension Day, John yielded. He gave his kingdom to the pope, and received it back as a vassal of the Holy See, on the condition that he pay one thousand marks a year, receive Langton, and reinstate all deposed bishops.

This humiliating act reconciled John with the church, but it only deepened the growing opposition of the English people and barons to the king.

110. John's Attempt to recover his French Lands. — Reconciled with the church, John now determined to take revenge on Philip, his greatest enemy, and, if possible, recover his

lands in France. He joined a league of Philip's enemies, who fought against Philip at *Bouvines*, July 27, 1214, one of the most important battles in the history of France, England, and Germany. Philip was victorious, and returned to Paris with the great task of establishing French monarchy accomplished. John, though not actually present at the battle, realized that he was hopelessly defeated, and gave up all further attempts to win back his Norman and Angevin territory.

111. John and the Barons. — England was on the verge of civil war. Hitherto the people had sided with the king against the feudal lords. But Henry II had broken up the old feudal opposition, and a new baronage had arisen, keenly alive to its rights as a class, but desiring good government for the kingdom. Monarchy was making remarkable strides, and was outgrowing feudalism. Particularly in justice and finance it was making demands that the feudal organization of society could not meet, and the feudal lords deemed the heavy exactions of Richard and John an encroachment upon their privileges. In fact, monarchy was becoming dangerously powerful; under John it seemed to be absolute and uncontrolled. The king's personal character, his unbridled tyranny, hastened the inevitable revolt, and gave unity to the baronial cause.

Even before the battle of Bouvines the barons of the north had refused to serve out of England, and had refused also to pay scutage. At a council held at St. Albans the same year (1213), the justiciar declared in the king's name that the laws of Henry I, which John had promised to observe, should be put in force. Three weeks later, the archbishop Stephen Langton, presented the very charter of Henry I as the basis of the barons' demands.

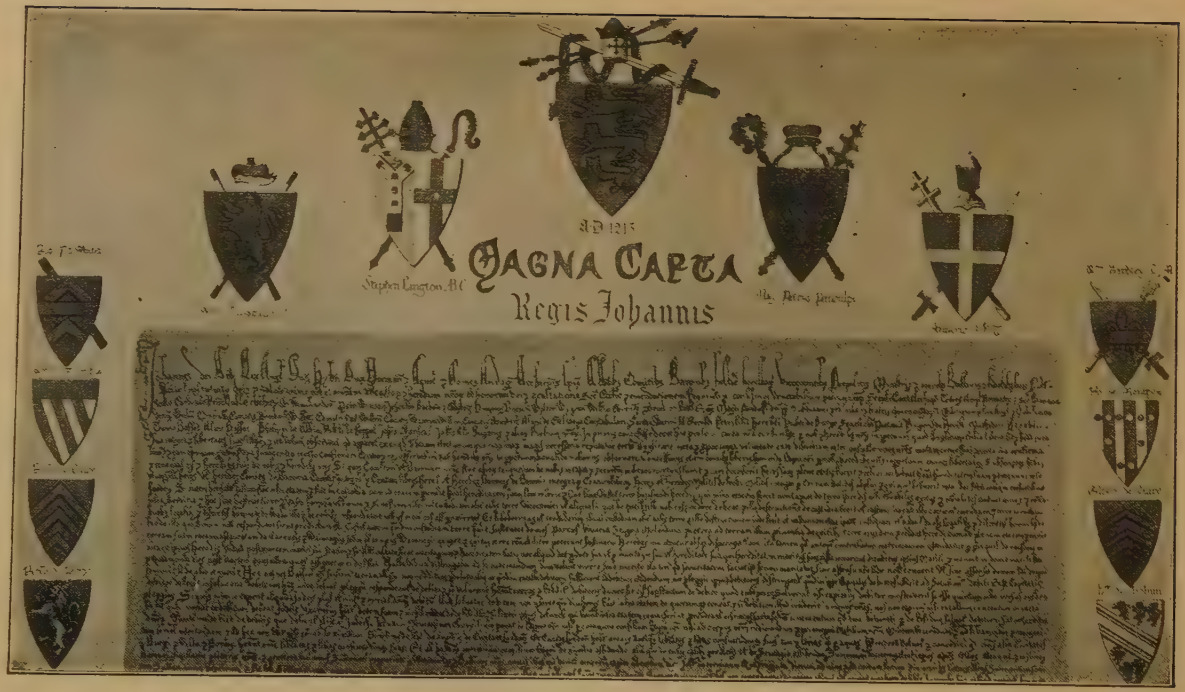
The enthusiasm roused by these meetings turned to confident determination after John's defeat at Bouvines the next year. Immediately the archbishop and the barons drew up the "articles of the barons," a definite statement of their demands, and presented it to the king. John in hot passion

refused to receive it. Then an army numbering over two thousand knights, called the Army of God and Holy Church, accompanied by the citizens of London, marched against him. Seeing that church, baronage, and burghers were prepared to gain their demands by force, and deserted by all save the mercenaries he had brought from France, John, angry but helpless, was obliged to yield. At Runnymede, on the Thames, June 15, 1215, he affixed his seal to Magna Carta, the *great charter* of English liberties.

112. The Great Charter. — Magna Carta differs from the charters of Henry I and Stephen in that it was forced by the church and the baronage from the king against his will. It contains a definite agreement on the part of the king to respect the independence of the church, the feudal law of the barons, and the interests of boroughs and even of villeins. It embodies all the most important practices and privileges of clergy, barons, burghers, merchants, and villeins that had been obtained in one way or another since the Norman Conquest. It bound the king to observe these privileges and *to keep the law*. Thus it checked the growth of absolute monarchy and marked the beginning of a monarchy that was limited in its power and beginning to be constitutional. But Magna Carta contains nothing new. Later ideas of taxation, trial by jury, and the like may be read into it, but they are not to be found there. Though the welfare of all classes is touched upon, yet the larger portion of the charter relates to the privileges of the feudal lords; for, as must never be forgotten, the England of Magna Carta is feudal England, and the document itself is a feudal document.

By its provisions, first of all the *church* was to be free, and its rights and privileges were to be unimpaired.

In the second place it defined in exact terms *feudal customs*. It regulated matters of wardship, heirship, widowhood, and marriage, and fixed the amount of feudal dues. More important still, it said that no scutage or aid should be levied save by the council of the realm, and that on three occasions only



A Portion of Magna Carta.

There are in existence to-day four copies of Magna Carta, sealed with John's great seal, of which the above is one of two in the British Museum. The border and the coats of arms are a modern embellishment.

should a lord ask for aids from his vassal; namely, when his eldest son was to be knighted, when his own person was to be ransomed from captivity, and when his eldest daughter was to be married for the first time (p. 79, note). The barons in framing the charter fully respected the rights of the king, and at the same time promised their own sub-vassals the same rights that they demanded for themselves.

In the third place, Magna Carta guarded the rights of the *boroughs*, especially London, and guaranteed to them their liberties and free customs. The Norman and Angevin kings, when in need of money, had sold to the boroughs of England charters which placed them above and outside of feudal control, and the kings knew that the rise of the cities meant the weakening of feudalism.

In the fourth place, Magna Carta promised security to the *merchants;* protected the property of *freeholders;* and said that even a *villein*, who legally had no right to his own property, should not lose his oxen and ploughs, however heavy a fine might be imposed upon him.

Lastly, Magna Carta contained certain *general clauses*, the most famous of all, although their importance is easily exaggerated. These clauses said that no freeman should be imprisoned or exiled or lose his land save by the lawful judgment of those of his own rank or by the law of the land. This privilege meant that the barons were not to be judged by any one of feudal rank lower than themselves. The charter also declares that justice shall not be sold, denied, or delayed, but this great legal principle was at that time only as valuable as the barons and people were able to make it.

Very important are the clauses that tell us of *administration and law*. These clauses affected, (1) the *great council*, (2) the *curia regis* or king's court, (3) the *itinerant justices*, and (4) the sheriffs and coroners.

Whenever the king wished advice and council in assessing scutages or levying an unusual aid, he was to summon his greater lords to the council by a letter addressed personally

to each one. He was to summon the lesser lords, too, but by means of a general letter sent to the sheriff. All these lords or barons were the king's tenants-in-chief, so that the body thus called was strictly a feudal council. Probably the lesser lords seldom attended, for travelling was troublesome and expensive.

The king's court or *curia regis* (p. 74) was breaking into two parts: one to follow the king, as he moved about; the other, which was to deal with common pleas and not with pleas of the crown, to stay at Westminster. This separation was not made complete, however, till the time of Edward I (p. 117).

The work of the itinerant justices must have been very successful, for Magna Carta required them to go on circuit four times a year; two years later the time was reduced to once a year. The justices were to protect the lands of freeholders against the encroachment of the lords, as Henry II had already begun to do (p. 87), by seeing that no freeholder lost the land he held except through testimony given to the justices in a formal inquiry.

Lastly, Magna Carta marks the end of the sheriff's greatness by definitely saying that neither sheriffs nor coroners should try any of the pleas of the crown. This limitation meant that hereafter both sheriff and coroner were to be of local importance only.

113. John's Attempt to revoke the Charter. — John had no intention of keeping his promises. On his appeal Pope Innocent relieved him of his oath, excommunicated the barons and Stephen Langton, and in a special bull declared the charter illegal. John with unexpected vigor began war with the barons. He recovered the north and the centre, while the barons held London and the southeast. The latter, fearing defeat at the hands of John and his mercenaries, turned to the king of France and offered the crown to Louis, the son of Philip Augustus and afterward Louis VIII. Louis crossed to England in May, 1216, and supported by the barons and the city of London, began the conquest of the kingdom. John's death in October saved England from civil war and brought

unexpected relief. The English barons began at once to desert the French pretender and to support the legitimate heir to the throne, John's son, Henry, a lad only nine years old. On October 28 Henry was crowned at Gloucester, as Henry III, and a week later confirmed a revised text of Magna Carta. This act rendered hopeless the cause of Louis, who, after a defeat at Lincoln in April, 1217, gave up the struggle, and in November renounced all claims to the crown. In 1217 Henry III confirmed the charter a second time, and with the second coronation in 1220 at the hand of Stephen Langton, the civil war caused by John's tyranny came to an end. The king and people were once more apparently working in harmony.

114. Result of John's Reign. — The reign of John is characterized by two momentous events: the loss of Normandy (see Map, p. 78) and the signing of Magna Carta. Each event had a decided influence upon the development of national unity and the constitutional government in England.

The first forced the king and the barons to give up their feudal ambitions in France and to turn their attention to England. The second limited the power which the king could exercise and brought to an end the movement which threatened to make the will of the king absolute in the government of England. The barons were selfish in trying to obtain again all their old feudal privileges, but they acted for England's good in laying down the principle that the king must obey the law. From this time forward the people of England clung to the great charter because it expressed this idea. They referred to it when afterward they tried to obtain a share in government and to limit the powers which the king claimed were his own. Magna Carta is the first of many documents to which the English people have adhered with great tenacity, because they represented victories which some part of the English people have won at one time or another in their effort to share with monarchy the control of the government.

CHAPTER IX.

NATIONAL GROWTH AND RISE OF PARLIAMENT.

115. Henry III. — Henry III was not a national king in any sense of the word. He had a very exalted idea of his royal position, was frivolous and extravagant, loved pomp and ceremony, and surrounded himself with selfish favorities. He was pious in a mediæval way; but he yielded a too ready obedience to the pope, and was too willing to sacrifice the interests of the English to the advancement of the mediæval papacy. He spent money freely for churches, but he destroyed the good effects of his generosity by filling church offices with favorites, and using church revenues for furthering his own and the pope's Continental projects. He injured the cause of national unity, for he listened only to the advice of foreigners and of those hostile to the best interests of the English people. During his long reign of fifty-six years he succeeded in turning every class against him.

116. Continental Relations. — Henry was far more interested in the Continent than in England, and was willing to use his kingdom and its wealth to make prominent his position abroad. This is shown in three ways.

In the first place, he desired to recover his lost fiefs in France. To that end he undertook three Continental expeditions, with the result that in 1259 he renounced absolutely his claims to the greater part of the Angevin fiefs in France, and received in return from Louis IX (St. Louis), Guienne and Gascony. (See Map, p. 78.) These lands, situated in southwestern France, remained the only English possessions in France till the peace of Bretigny, 1360.

In the second place, Henry was connected by blood or marriage with many of the great families in Europe. He himself

and his brother Richard were related by marriage to powerful feudal houses in France; while his two sisters married respectively the king of Scotland and the emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. His eldest son, Edward, married a princess of Castile. All these foreign connections were to have a most disastrous effect upon Henry's government at home.

In the third place, Henry was, by virtue of John's submission to the pope, a vassal of the Roman See. This position not only increased his intimacy with Rome, but also laid England open to excessive papal exactions.

117. Henry's Minority. — From 1220 to 1232 government was in the hands of one of the strongest men of his day, the justiciar Hubert de Burgh. He ruled in the main wisely and well, and during these years the national party was in control. Hubert resisted the papal claims upon England and drove out the papal legates. He attacked the foreigners who refused to obey the law of the land as shaped by Magna Carta, and drove them, too, out of England. He compelled Henry in 1225 to confirm Magna Carta for the third time, giving the charter the final form in which it was to be embodied in the laws of the land.

118. Coming of the Foreigners. — In 1232 Henry declared himself of age, and dismissing Hubert de Burgh made the foreigner Peter des Roches justiciar in his place. An era of foreign influence and misgovernment began. Swarms of aliens, relatives of the king or his wife, flocked to England, attracted by the prospect of preferment or wealth. Henry made his wife's uncle archbishop of Canterbury, another uncle bishop of Hereford; scores of other aliens received offices of state, positions of trust, wardships of castles, and the like. The avarice of these foreigners exceeded all bounds. They sapped the country of its wealth, abused their inferiors, and through justices and sheriffs, plundered London, oppressed the Jews, despoiled the tenantry on their estates. Henry shared in the infamous work; he revoked old privileges that they might be bought back, sold charters, made levies on the monasteries, and enforced forest laws with exasperating rigor. The amount

of money thus raised was enormous, but it was spent outside of England, and the king's treasury was always empty.

119. Demands of the Pope. — At the same time the popes, as heads of the church and overlords of England, were compelling clergy and people to submit to grievous exactions. The mediæval church demanded for itself universal authority, declared that kings and princes held their thrones at the will of the pope, and that the temporal power was ordained of God to be subject to the spiritual. Innocent III was almost the only pope that had made good these claims, but for a century his successors asserted them. Innocent had concerned himself with temporal matters in nearly every state in Europe, and both he and his successors looked on England as especially under their control on account of John's oath of fealty. Henry had confirmed this oath, and in so doing had laid England open to papal interference.

This interference took two forms: the demand for money, and the exercise of the right to fill English ecclesiastical positions with foreigners, chiefly Italians. Year by year heavier sums were demanded, taxes were levied, and church estates plundered. Against the will of the church in England Italians were forced into bishoprics and other benefices. Many of these foreigners were illiterate and ignorant, of irreligious lives and character, greedy and unscrupulous. The church became impoverished, and religious life sank to a low state of efficiency.

120. The Coming of the Friars. — While Henry was pursuing foreign schemes, welcoming aliens and foreign prelates to England and spending extravagantly the wealth of the kingdom, other forces were working for England's betterment.

Chief of these was the work of the friars. In 1220 the Dominicans[1] had come to England; in 1224 the Franciscans.[2]

[1] The Dominicans, or Black Friars, so called because of their black robe, were founded in 1215 by St. Dominic, a powerful preacher of southern France. Their chief aim was to combat heresy by personal preaching and appeal.

[2] The Franciscans, or Gray Friars, wore gray robes. They were founded

The former were called the Friars Preachers, the latter the Friars Minor, or Minorites. These men applied themselves at once to the great task of raising the religious life of England. Under a vow of poverty they labored among the people of the towns, — notably London and Oxford, — preaching the Christian faith, caring for the sick, and bringing hope and comfort to the poor and afflicted. Thus they stood in striking contrast to the higher clergy, who in their thirst for preferment and wealth were neglecting the spiritual needs of the masses. The friars produced Roger Bacon;[1] they supported the only great and worthy churchman of this period, Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln, who was almost alone among the great prelates in his opposition to the policy of king and pope. Grosseteste stands in English annals as the enemy of misgovernment, the upholder of national unity and independence.

121. Learning and the Universities. — Many of the friars were learned men as well as preachers, and aroused a widespread interest by their work as lecturers and preachers in the convents and other places. The thirteenth century was a time when important advances were made in mediæval learning and literature. Students on the Continent were crowding to centres where great leaders were lecturing on philosophy, logic, law, medicine, and theology, and in England a beginning was made at Oxford and Cambridge. At first students gathered about a master in his private house, but in 1264 Walter of Merton founded the first college, Merton College at Oxford, and his example was followed by others, until there were four colleges at Oxford in the thirteenth century and nine in the

by a noble character of the Middle Ages, St. Francis of Assisi, in Italy, as an order of Begging Friars, who were under the vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience. The Friars were not monks, did not live in a monastery, or submit to a rule. They moved freely among the people and ministered to their wants.

[1] He is thought to have invented gunpowder and the compass; he foresaw the use of steam and speculated about reaching China by crossing the Atlantic. He lived a century too soon to influence his followers, but is winning more and more recognition from the scholars of to-day.

fourteenth. At first the college was a place for study, not for residence, and so it remained until the period of the Stuarts. Though scholarship was mediæval in scope, literature was

From a photograph.

SALISBURY CATHEDRAL.

This cathedral is a splendid example of early English architecture; there is scarcely a trace of foreign influence in the building. The spire is the loftiest and most beautiful in England.

beginning to show many changes, and in the writing of history, of epic and religious poetry, and of romances a high degree of thought, imagination, and form was displayed.

122. Cathedral Building. — An outward sign of the great religious fervor which characterized the thirteenth century in England and the Continent is seen in the great cathedrals[1] which were begun or remodelled in the reign of Henry III. There were many priests and monks called "the chapter," placed under a dean or prior to assist the bishop in administering the affairs of the cathedral and the diocese. All these men helped in building these wonderful churches, and their homes were clustered about the cathedrals, adding to their picturesqueness and beauty.

123. Resistance of the Barons. — So grievous had become the king's abuses and so dominant the influence of foreigners and papacy that finally the barons determined to resist, and Simon de Montfort appeared as their leader. Simon had been a Crusader, a governor of Gascony, was intimate with Robert Grosseteste, and was as eager to reform the state as the great bishop had been to reform the church. When, therefore, in the spring of 1258, the discontent of the baronage and people reached its height, Simon de Montfort found himself forced forward as the leader of the popular cause. In April, at a meeting of the great council, or "parliament," the barons demanded the appointment of twenty-four of the wisest men of England to advise the king, to bring about a general change in the royal officials, and to erect a government that should care for the good of the people. Henry yielded, and in June the "parliament" again met, this time at Oxford, to draw up a list of reforms.

124. Provisions of Oxford. — The "parliament" at Oxford, commonly called the Mad Parliament, was a body composed only of the barons and clergy. It began by demanding that

[1] A form of the new Gothic architecture, called the Early English or Lancet-pointed, was introduced from France — a form lighter and more delicate than the heavy old Norman style. Many cathedrals begun in the Norman style were continued in the Early English; but the Cathedral of Salisbury (1220–1260), begun and completed, with the exception of the tower, in about forty years, is a perfect specimen of one style, the Early English; and Wells Cathedral (1220–1244) is another beautiful example of the same style.

all aliens should leave England. The barons forced the king to agree to this demand and then brought forward their scheme for a reform in government, a kind of paper constitution, known as the Provisions of Oxford. A permanent council of bishops and nobles was chosen to govern with the king. This council was to appoint the great officers of the kingdom, and to meet three times a year in February, June, and October. This government lasted from 1258 to 1263 and met regularly three times a year, but it was nothing but an oligarchy, a government by a few, and was too clumsy to be efficient.

The king and his supporters, growing weary of the barons' control, and taking advantage of the discord in the reform party, tried to break down the government. Henry obtained a bull from the pope, releasing him from his oath; he removed the justiciar appointed by the barons, and defied the "provisions" by openly violating their conditions. Civil war was imminent, but finally in 1262 they referred the matter to the arbitration of Louis IX (St. Louis) of France, whose reputation for justice all acknowledged. In January, 1264, in the award or Mise of Amiens, Louis, who had exalted ideas of the duties of subjects to their king, decided against the reformers, and at one stroke undid all that the barons had accomplished since 1258. The pope confirmed the verdict.

125. The Barons' War. — The Mise of Amiens was received in England with indignation, for all feared a return of the rule of the foreigners. The citizens of London rose in revolt, imprisoned the king's officers, and plundered the king's houses. Simon and the young earl of Gloucester were joined by Llewellyn, the Welsh prince, and other barons. But the king was far from weak. He was aided by his son Edward, by lords from the north, and by his foreign allies from the Continent. In the war that followed Henry was surprised and defeated by Simon, Gloucester, and the Londoners at Lewes in Sussex on May 14, 1264. The victory put Simon in possession of the machinery of government, and gave into his hands as a hostage Prince Edward, whom the defeat at Lewes had

changed "from a reckless youth of promise into a sober, capable man." For a year Simon ruled in the king's name.

126. Simon's Government. — In June, 1264, Simon summoned a parliament composed not only of barons and clergy, but also of four knights from each shire. This assembly restored the government established by the Provisions of Oxford, with slight changes. During the months that followed, Simon's power was greatly strengthened by a threatened invasion of the Italians and others who had been driven out of England. The English of all parties responded at once to the call for an army of resistance, and so determined were they that the invaders agreed to submit all questions in dispute to a national assembly to be held in London in January, 1265.

127. Knights of the Shire in Parliament. — The London parliament of 1265 marks a great advance in the constitutional history of England. The old council of the king had been strictly a feudal assembly. At its meetings the people were not expected to be present; as far as they can be said to have been represented, they were represented by their lords. It was an important innovation, therefore, when, during Henry III's reign, knights of the shire began to be summoned to meet with the king and his council. Originally lowest in rank of the feudal lords, they were rapidly becoming a middle class of important landholders in the counties. Scutage had relieved them of military service, agriculture had become their dominant interest, and the county court the scene of their chief political activity. As prominent local gentry they had already been called upon by the king to take a conspicuous part in the royal administration, since the beginning of Henry III's reign they had been intrusted with the assessment and collection of the taxes levied by the king and his advisers. They had also been elected by the county court to serve as coroners, and so had become royal officers, whose duty it was, in part, to guard the pleas of the crown until the itinerant justices should come into the county, to be present always at the court which the justices held, and to hand over the roll

of the cases that had to be tried. Thus the knights were already serving as royal agents in the shires, and it is not surprising that they should be summoned, as they were a great many times between 1260 and 1295, to come to London or elsewhere, when the king and his council sat. Burgesses, too, had been accustomed to go to Westminster to appear before the barons of the council sitting as the Exchequer, for the purpose of bargaining with the crown regarding the money they were to pay. The boroughs frequently sought to reduce the borough payments or to obtain new charters with additional privileges. For this purpose they would send one of the burgesses to London, and thus the burgesses, as well as the knights, became familiar to the royal officials.

128. The First Step in the Establishment of a House of Commons. — When in 1265 Simon, in the king's name, called an assembly to make terms with the invaders, he enlarged its membership beyond that of any royal council that had sat before. His chief supporters were among the burgesses and the knights and freeholders of the counties. After he had issued writs to the clergy and barons, as was always done in summoning a great council, he turned to his own allies and bade the sheriffs send up *two knights from each shire*, and the burgesses *two of their number from each borough*, who with the others were to meet with the king. The response to the summons was immediate and hearty. Five earls, eighteen barons, all the bishops who were not hostile to Simon, and a great number of knights and burgesses gathered at London. It was a partisan body, for it was composed only of Simon's followers; but it was called for a partisan purpose, to uphold Simon's cause. There is no reason to believe that Simon intended such a body to be regularly or permanently summoned, or even to be summoned a second time. Nevertheless, *this gathering set a precedent* for the future, and in this sense, perhaps, Simon may be called the "creator of the House of Commons."

129. Simon's Defeat and Death. — The parliament of 1265 came to an agreement with the king, who swore to observe the

Great Charter and the Provisions of Oxford. Simon was recognized ruler of England and carried on the government for the king, whom he had kept prisoner since the battle of Lewes. But Prince Edward, escaping from custody, gathered his adherents and defeated Simon and the barons in the battle of Evesham, August 4, 1265, where Simon was slain. Thus died a man, who in spite of all his ambitions, imperiousness, and questionable methods did a great deal for England. He had checked the denationalizing policy of Henry III and taught England a good lesson. By one Englishman that lesson was well learned; for when Edward made his peace with the barons, it was Simon's principle of government that he promised to adopt.

From 1266 to 1272 peace reigned, in the main, throughout England. Henry III, again in power, proclaimed an amnesty and confirmed the Great Charter. In 1268 Edward left England to join Louis IX, his uncle, on the last Crusade. Two adventurous years he spent in the East, and his fame as a Crusader spread over Europe. So well established was his place in the hearts of the English that in 1272, when Henry III died, he did not fear to delay for two years more his return to England. He was the first king in English history to reign before he was crowned. Proclaimed king in 1272, he did not arrive in his kingdom until 1274, when he was crowned. Then began the great work of one of the greatest of English kings.

130. Edward I. — Edward was first of all an English king, the first of his line to devote himself mainly to the interests of England alone. Henry II had thought as much of his French possessions as of his English kingdom; Richard had considered England as a place where he could get money for his Crusade and feudal wars; Henry III loved foreigners and subordinated England's welfare to that of the mediæval church; but Edward was a national king and made England the centre of his interests. He had been trained in a stern school of experience. He had seen all the disasters of bad government, and with a great man's instinct for compromise knew how to remedy abuses without arousing

permanent opposition among his people. He had love of power, and a masterfulness which in his early years gave him a reputation for cruelty; but he became more temperate as he grew older, and while never lacking in bravery, showed a sympathetic, even an affectionate, nature. He was chaste, devout, frugal, and dignified, always just, faithful, and persevering, and in his motto, *pactum serva* (keep troth), he cherished an ideal which, though difficult of attainment, was unusual for the times. As lawgiver, organizer, and warrior Edward left an indelible impression upon English history.

Three aspects of his work stand out most conspicuously: his legal and administrative reforms during the first thirteen years of his reign; his summoning of the first complete parliament in 1295; and his relations with Scotland and France during his later years.

131. Administrative and Legal Reforms. — Edward supplemented the work of his ancestor, Henry II, and shaped in a legal mould the growing English constitution. He did what no English king had done before him, issued *statutes*,[1] interfering "at countless points with the ordinary course of law between subject and subject." With him the statute law of England really begins, and no important class of the people escaped the beneficent work of the king and his magistrates.

Restriction of Feudal Privileges. — Scarcely had the king been crowned when he began a searching inquiry into the feudal conditions of England. Under Henry III the barons had been getting into their hands many feudal privileges or "franchises," as they were called. Edward determined to recover these privileges for the crown and in 1274 sent commissioners, much as William the Conqueror had done when he made Domesday Book, to inquire in each and every hundred regarding these

[1] Before Edward First's day lawmaking was almost unknown, for men did not have the idea of frequently changing the law. Kings and their advisers issued charters and ordinances, but not statutes. Even the great statutes of Edward I were not drawn up or issued by any lawmaking body, but by the king and his council or such members of it as he cared to consult.

franchises, and to write down the results of the inquiry in a permanent record. This record still exists and is called the Hundred Rolls, that is, the Rolls of the Hundreds, standing next to Domesday Book as a record of mediæval life. Having carefully weighed the information thus gathered, Edward held a great council in 1278, and declared that if the barons could not show that their franchises had been conferred by a king, the franchises would revert to the crown. He was as good as his word, and in the years that followed the great lords lost bit by bit the privileges that in the earlier years they had so imperiously exercised.

In the same year (1278) Edward dealt feudalism another blow by completing the transformation of the knight from a military vassal into an agricultural landholder. He compelled every person possessing land of the value of £20 a year to assume "the degree of a knight, with its costly ceremonies, or to pay a fine." This broke up the exclusive character of feudal society by creating a new body of knights, not feudal at all, but composed of the middle class landholders, whose position depended not upon military service or noble birth, but upon *landed property.* Such a step marks the transition from a period in which military and feudal interests are dominant to one characterized by economic achievements.

First and Second Statutes of Westminster. — Edward's legal reforms have given him the title of the "English Justinian," not very aptly indeed, for Justinian codified old laws, while Edward made new ones. But it is amazing to see how widely, even at this early date, his reforms extended. In 1275, at a parliament held at Westminster, he brought forward a great measure, known as the First Statute of Westminster. This statute sought, in the first place, to remedy abuses in the royal administration, abuses largely due to the foreigners who had held office under Henry III. In the second place, it forbade the feudal lords to abuse those privileges that were clearly within their rights. Thirdly, it guarded the rights of merchants and citizens.

Ten years later, in 1285, Edward took up the same subject and continued his work of remedying abuses in the Second Statute of Westminster, which provided for a more rigorous correction of the abuses practised by the feudal lords and of such royal officials as itinerant justices, sheriffs, and bailiffs. It regulated fees and sought to check bribery.

Edward's earlier work had been largely that of a reformer of abuses among the feudal lords and in his own royal household, but by 1283 he began to establish his greater claim to fame as a lawgiver.

Statute of Merchants. — Credit in business had not yet come into existence, and there was no way whereby merchants could compel the payment of a debt. Foreign commerce and trade were rapidly becoming a leading source of England's wealth, and Edward knew that both would suffer if some remedy for debt were not provided. So in 1283 he promulgated a statute, known as the *Statute of Merchants*, which enabled a merchant to summon his debtor before the mayor of a chartered borough and to force him to sign a bill promising to pay it. If the debtor did not pay the merchant, the mayor had authority to imprison him or to seize his goods. This simple remedy proved of the greatest value and was widely employed, and it placed commerce and trade on a new footing in England.

Statute of Entails. — By the interpretation of the Statute of Merchants the entire property of a wealthy lord could be seized for the debts of his eldest son. To prevent such a disaster the lords demanded at the Westminster parliament of 1285 the right to hand down their estates in unbroken succession from eldest son to eldest son, so that henceforth no heir could pledge the estate for debt. Edward was compelled to consent to this demand, and it was made statute law by being placed as the first chapter of the Second Statute of Westminster, noted already. Thus arose the entailed estates of England. Though popular during the two centuries following, entailed estates afterward went out of favor, and since the fifteenth century the statute, though never repealed, has been successfully evaded.

The Third Statute of Westminster: Quia Emptores. — One of the most famous of Edward's measures dealing with the feudal lands of England was issued in 1290 and forbade subinfeudation. Tenants-in-chief had been accustomed to subinfeudate (p. 80) or alienate portions of their land for the purpose of obtaining knights to meet their military obligations; but they did not want the tenants who received the land from them to subinfeudate portions of this land to others, as their tenants and the new subtenants could never agree as to which should pay the feudal dues to the tenant-in-chief. The royal courts had rather favored the practice of subinfeudation, because in a growing state it would never do to have land tied up in the hands of a few. But the barons, caring far more about their feudal dues than about the needs of the people at large, tried to stop the practice, and in the parliament of 1290 requested the king to issue a statute forbidding subinfeudation. The king consented, but caused the statute to be so worded as wholly to alter the intent of the barons' request. The Third Statute of Westminster (beginning *Quia Emptores*, "Because the buyers") said that the tenant who alienated or sold the land he held of another should resign all rights over the land thus sold. This meant that if B, holding land of A, sold or subinfeudated to C, C became the tenant not of B, but of A. When the statute went into operation, the barons discovered that it worked both ways, and what affected their tenants affected also themselves as tenants of the king. Lands that they themselves sold reverted to the crown. This might not have affected them so seriously had they been able to avoid selling their lands, but as agriculture became less profitable, they could no longer afford to hold together their great estates and often had to sell them outright. The purchasers at once became the tenants of the king. Two results followed:

(1) The number of those who held directly of the king increased rapidly, and this increase lowered the social and political importance of the tenants-in-chief as a class. (2) At the same time, as more and more land came to be held directly of

the king, the matter of buying and selling land was simplified and made easy. This condition tended to break down the whole mediæval land system, and so hastened the destruction of feudalism.

Statute of Winchester. — Thus far Edward had dealt with the merchants and the feudal landholders. But in the autumn of 1285 he turned to the people at large, and in the Statute of Winchester sought to make out of every freeholder a soldier and an orderly citizen, ready to aid in the preservation of peace. Every man between fifteen and sixty years of age was to have armor in his house according to his property, and twice every year was to present himself at the "view of armor" held in his hundred, where two constables were to inspect the array. Three things are especially noteworthy in this statute: no man was to be excused because of ignorance of the law; the constable appears for the first time in the service of the crown; and, lastly, by a special provision, the act commanded that all who did not have armor or weapons should provide bows and arrows. Edward, like Henry II before him, knew the value of infantry and improved on the Assize of Arms (p. 88) by the addition of the bowmen.

The Statute of Mortmain. — Throughout the Middle Ages the church as a landholder had occupied a privileged position. As a rule it paid no taxes and performed no material service. The church was a tenant that never died and never forfeited its lands; therefore, it had no occasion, as had other feudal tenants, to render dues at times of marriage, to furnish profits from wardships or the care of minors, or to pay fines when a new tenant took the place of one that had died. For these reasons land so transferred was said to be given *in manum mortuum*, that is, into the dead hand of the patron saint. Edward and his barons were in entire accord in remedying this abuse, and in 1279 the Statute of Mortmain was issued. This law forbade men to transfer land on any condition to a monastery or other religious corporation. The terms of the statute, though frequently evaded, were nevertheless efficient in checking the growth of monasteries.

The record of the first thirteen years of Edward's reign is a brilliant one. In his administrative and legal measures he accomplished a work for law and justice that is not surpassed in English history till we reach the nineteenth century. As an organizer Edward was no less successful. He gave definite form to two of the greatest institutions of England: the royal courts of law and the parliament of the realm.

132. The King's Courts. — Before Edward's time the king's council, or certain members of it, sat in a double capacity, as Exchequer and as law court (p. 74). The law court had already divided into two parts in John's reign: one to follow the king and to hear both pleas of the crown and the common pleas, or disputes between the king's subjects; the other to sit permanently in one place, at Westminster, to hear the common pleas only. But the distinction between the two courts was not very definite and had not been always observed under Henry III. Under Edward these became three separate and independent bodies: the King's Bench, which followed the king when required to do so; the Court of Common Pleas seated at Westminster; and the Exchequer, which attended to the financial business and later developed judicial functions in all cases which concerned debts due the crown. The king did not give up his judicial functions, for any one deeming that he had not received justice might petition the king through the chancellor. Out of this practice arose the Court of Chancery, an equity court; while higher still, the king sat at the head of his council and acted as a supreme court.

133. The Model Parliament: Second Step in the Establishment of a House of Commons (p. 110). — In order to meet the situation created by the crisis of war with France, Scotland, and Wales in 1295, Edward had to increase his revenue and to gain the support of his people by calling a parliament of their representatives. Up to this time, notwithstanding Earl Simon's innovation of 1265, neither knights nor burgesses were necessary to constitute a parliament. Edward fully understood that feudalism was on the wane, so, while summoning his barons as

usual, he determined also to reach out and bring into one body members of other than the feudal class, that is, members of the agricultural, clerical, and trading classes. He was in need of money and knew that the knights were wealthy and were familiar with local questions of finance and taxation and that the towns were becoming the centres of trade and industry and consequently of wealth. Therefore he summoned both knights and burgesses. He knew, too, that he must draw the clergy more closely to him if he were to retain the loyalty of the church and resist the papal claims. Therefore he attached a separate clause to the writs addressed to the bishops, bidding each bring with him certain of the lesser clergy. Thus there were present in this famous parliament two archbishops, eighteen bishops with their lesser clergy, sixty-six abbots, three heads of religious orders, nine earls, forty-one barons, sixty-three knights of the shire, and one hundred and seventy-two citizens and burgesses, — about four hundred persons in all. Later the archdeacons, priors, proctors, and abbots ceased to attend; but in other respects for five centuries the legal form of this great national body remained unchanged.

Yet it must not be supposed that this was a modern parliament. To-day we think of parliament as a lawmaking body. But all that the Model Parliament and its successors did was to grant money[1] and to present petitions from the king's subjects; but by fusing "the thousand diverse interests of shires and boroughs, clergy and laity, magnates and humble folk, into one national whole," it "made possible the existence of national legislation."

134. Conquest of Wales. — Three years after his return to England, while setting the administration of the kingdom in order, Edward engaged in a war with Llewellyn, prince of Wales, who had refused to do him homage. The Welsh clans,

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[1] The Model Parliament voted Edward a subsidy of one-eleventh of the goods of the nobility and the landholders and one-seventh of the goods of the burgesses. For sitting and procedure see Ilbert, *Parliament*, Ch. V.

secure in their mountains for many years, maintained their independence and refused to recognize England's overlordship. In 1277 Edward led an army across the border, and after a brief campaign in North Wales, forced Llewellyn to a peace. In 1282 Llewellyn rose in revolt, but was defeated by Edward and

From a photograph.

CARNARVON CASTLE.

The first Prince of Wales, Edward II, was born here in 1284. The story goes that Edward I, to pacify the Welsh, promised them a prince born in Wales, who could not speak a word of English. He then presented his infant son to them. Here, in 1911, King George with great pomp and ceremony invested his oldest son as Prince of Wales.

slain. Wales was annexed to England. By the important Statute of Wales (1284), Wales was divided into four shires, organized after the English model, and a code of English law was drawn up and introduced into the land. Wales became then, as it is to-day, a part of England, though Edward wisely retained many of the old tribal and feudal divisions. In 1301 the title of Prince of Wales was given to Edward's son, though

it carried with it no political power and remained from that time forward simply the chief title conferred upon the heir apparent of the English throne.

135. The Succession in Scotland. — The Scottish problem was neither as easily nor as quickly settled. In 1286, when the kingdom of Scotland descended to a young girl, Maid Margaret, Edward saw a chance to unite the two countries, and he arranged for the marriage of his eldest son and the little Scottish queen. Her death on the way to England threw the whole question of the Scottish succession into confusion. Claimants to the throne came forward, chief of whom were John Balliol and Robert Bruce. The case was submitted to Edward, and, after long deliberation, the claims of Bruce were rejected, and Balliol was declared king of an undivided Scotland. He was crowned at Scone in 1292.

Edward now claimed as feudal lord the right to hear appeals from the court of Balliol in Scotland. Balliol submitted, but the Scottish nobility showed Edward that they were prepared to resist this infringement on their national independence. This resistance of the Scottish feudal lords involved Edward in war in the north at the time when a serious struggle with France was imminent.

136. Edward's Quarrel with France. — Trouble had arisen between the English and Norman fishermen in the English Channel, and Philip IV, the Fair, of France took up the quarrel. A war between the two kingdoms seemed unavoidable, and each king entered into alliances with the enemies of the other. Edward turned to the time-honored enemies of France, — the Empire, Savoy, and Flanders, — while Philip allied himself with Edward's enemies at home and entered into agreements with the Scots and the Welsh. Thus in 1294 and 1295 Edward was confronted by Scotland, France, and Wales at the same time. No wonder he needed the parliament of 1295 to furnish him with revenue and to give him support.

137. Submission of Scotland. — With the money granted by parliament, Edward turned to face the threatening danger.

He took up the campaign in the north, where Balliol, aided by the French, had renounced the overlordship of Edward and had sent an army to invade England. Edward led an army northward, defeated the Scottish army, and pushed on into Scotland. Balliol surrendered to Edward and was dealt with as a feudal vassal who had broken his contract. Edward declared the kingdom forfeited. In 1296 he marched as a conqueror through the land, carried off from Scone the ancient coronation stone, and treated Scotland as a forfeited fief. The Scots seemed to be as thoroughly conquered as the Welsh had been; but Edward failed to see that there was a feeling of intense independence in Scotland and that the Scottish lords were entirely unwilling to be handed over like the tenantry of an estate from one feudal lord to another.

THE CORONATION CHAIR IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY.
The Stone of Scone which Edward I brought from Scotland is seen just under the seat.

138. Edward's Quarrel with the Pope. — Edward needed money for the Scottish struggle that was now sure to come and for others that he had planned on the Continent. Parliament made

a liberal grant, but when Edward demanded a grant from the clergy, the latter refused to vote a penny. In 1296 the pope had specially directed the clergy of both France and England to make no grant whatsoever without the authority of the Holy See. As the pope had threatened to *excommunicate* any one who disobeyed his command, so Edward replied that he would *outlaw* any one who disobeyed the king. If the church could by excommunication place any of the faithful beyond the pale of her protection, so the state could by outlawry place any of its members outside the protection of the law. An outlawed clerk was helpless. The king's courts would not protect him, the church courts could not. The English clergy had cause to be frightened; and though as a body they refused to yield, as individuals they finally promised to pay their quota, and actually did pay in the end double the amount that Edward had originally demanded. The state had become stronger than the church in England.

CHARING CROSS, LONDON.
From a drawing in the British Museum.

When Queen Eleanor died, Edward had her body brought from Lincoln to Westminster for burial. At every spot where the body rested, he had a cross erected. The popular derivation of Charing is from the French *chère reine*, dear queen.

139. Confirmation of the Charters. — In 1297 Edward was about ready to set out for France, but at this juncture the greater barons of England, exasperated by the continued attacks on their feudal privileges, refused to obey the king's command. The merchants, too, had their grievance, for in 1294, and again in 1297, Edward had seized their wool. The continued resistance of the barons and merchants, the pleadings of the clergy, and Edward's desire to compromise in order

From a photograph.

MUCHENEY CROSS.

to carry out his plans, led the king to perform that great constitutional act known as the Confirmation of the Charters, whereby he recognized the principle that the king is bound by the law. He promised, while at Ghent in 1297, "to keep in every point without breach" the charters of liberty, affirming that all judgments contrary to them should be null and void; that the charters should be read twice a year to the people; and that the archbishops and bishops should excommunicate all who broke them.

Through the influence of the barons and the merchants the king further declared that no aids, subsidies, or taxes on wool should be taken for the future without the common consent of the realm. This meant that after 1297 the imposition of a direct tax in England, except by consent of parliament, was contrary to law. The question of indirect taxes, such as cus-

From a photograph.

STIRLING CASTLE.

The most important strategic point in Scotland, captured by Edward I after a three months' siege and retaken ten years later by Robert Bruce after the battle of Bannockburn.

toms duties on goods exported and imported, was not to be settled for nearly four centuries.

140. Peace with France. — Edward had planned a double expedition against France, himself going to Flanders and his barons to Gascony. It was the refusal of the latter that led Edward to confirm the charters while he was in Flanders. The expeditions came to nothing, for through the mediation of the pope a truce was declared in 1298. Edward married for his second wife the sister of Philip, and his son was betrothed to Philip's daughter. In 1303 Philip got back Gui-

enne and Edward acknowledged the full sovereignty of the French king over the duchy.

141. The Scottish War for Independence. — During Edward's absence on the Continent the Scottish nobility rose in arms. Maddened by Edward's treatment of them, by the tyranny of his officials, and by the introduction among them of foreign soldiers, the Scottish baronage of the lowlands were ready to fight for their independence. A knight of good family, William Wallace, had made himself the leader of the uprising, and in 1297 won a victory, near Stirling, over Edward's viceroy in Scotland. Wallace was neither an outlaw and freebooter, as some have said, nor yet the hero that romance has made him. He was of the lesser baronage, a rough warrior, who in this emergency found a scope for his gifts as a leader. His followers increased in number until he was able to dash across the border, and to sweep Northumberland with fire and sword. Edward, who had been busy in France, now returned, gathered an army at York, and marching into Scotland, defeated Wallace at Falkirk, July 22, 1298; but the Scots would not yield, and until 1303 the struggle continued. At last, after the final treaty had been made with Philip IV of France, Edward turned on the Scots, drove all before him, and for the second time subdued the country. Wallace was betrayed in 1305, and cruelly executed as a traitor; Scotland was divided into shires, and provision made for representation in the English parliament.

But Scotland would not stay subdued. For the third time insurrection broke out, and this time the leader was Robert Bruce. He was the grandson of the old claimant, and was crowned king of Scotland at Scone in 1306. Again Edward gathered his forces, again he pushed forward at the head of an army to the north; but this time the hand of death was upon him. At Burgh-on-Sands, Edward died, July 17, 1307, with a last injunction to his barons to bury his heart in the Holy Land, and to his son to continue the advance against the Scots, bearing his bones in the very front of the line. Thus died one of the greatest of English kings.

142. Edward II and the Scots. — Young Edward II, the most thriftless king that ever sat on an English throne, had no heart for war. The Scottish nobility, who had thus far remained loyal to England, resenting the cowardliness of the king, joined in increasing numbers the forces of Bruce. The latter captured one Scottish stronghold after another, and finally, in 1314, advanced to the siege of Stirling. Then

From a photograph.

GRAVES OF SCOTTISH KINGS, IONA.
Macbeth is said to be buried here.

Edward was shamed into action. Gathering an army of twenty thousand foot and three thousand horse from the northern shires, he advanced to the relief of Stirling. On the field of *Bannockburn*, within sight of the walls of Stirling castle, the battle was fought, June 24, 1314, which won for the Scots their independence, and postponed union with England for four hundred years. In the most disgraceful defeat it ever suffered,

the English army was driven southward in flight, and Robert Bruce became undisputed king of Scotland.

143. Continued Struggle between King and Barons: Edward II's Deposition. — The reign of Edward II was a long-continued struggle by the barons in council and parliament to control the bad government of the king and his favorites. Edward succeeded to the throne by the right of inheritance; he took a very precise coronation oath promising to uphold the "laws and righteous customs" of the land; and during his reign, parliaments of three estates — nobility, clergy, and commons — met frequently. But parliaments were new and the barons led the resistance to the king's policy. Edward, too indolent and indifferent to carry the burden of government, gave control into the hands of Pierre Gaveston, a Gascon knight, whom he created earl of Cornwall and invested with honors and estates. The barons and clergy of the council, claiming to have a voice in the naming of the king's ministers, compelled Edward to banish Gaveston in 1308; but the king restored him the next year. Then the council, affronted by this insult, forced the king to intrust his powers to a committee of barons — Lords Ordainers — authorized to govern the kingdom for him, and to make such ordinances as should be to the honor of church and king, and to the advantage of the people. The ordinances issued by these baronial guardians, in 1310 and 1311, were little more than summaries of the barons' grievances, designed to limit the powers of the king. The king assented to the ordinances and they became statute law. But the next year Edward broke with the barons and recalled Gaveston. Then the barons, gathering their forces, seized Gaveston and put him to death (1312). The committee was reëstablished with Thomas of Lancaster at the head.

Edward, weary of being controlled by the barons, endeavored to obtain a repeal of the ordinances, but after his defeat at Bannockburn, which thoroughly discredited him, he was obliged to give it up and to continue under baronial control. But Thomas of Lancaster proved a miserable ruler, and in 1320

Edward, displaying unexpected vigor, turned upon Lancaster, whom he defeated, seized, and beheaded with many others of the baronial party. From a full parliament of 1322 he obtained a repeal of the ordinances, as prejudicial "to the estate of the crown," and by the same parliament was issued a noteworthy declaration that henceforth any matter to be established for king, his heirs, realm, and people, must be treated, accorded, and established in a parliament of all the estates. This declaration was a defence of the dignity of crown and parliament against the baronial faction.

But Edward failed to rise to the situation offered, of governing with the aid of parliament. He began another rule of favorites, — the Despensers, — and from 1322 to 1326 insolence and bad government prevailed. Then the barons, led by one Roger Mortimer, revolted against the king. They seized and hanged the Despensers, captured Edward himself in Wales, and causing a parliament to be summoned in the name of Edward's young son, the future Edward III, deposed Edward II and placed him in confinement, where he died in 1327, probably put to death by his keepers. This deposition of the king, the first of which we have certain knowledge in English history, was not a legal act, but one of violence, the forced setting aside of a bad and incompetent king by those who had the power to do so. The significant fact is that this revolt of the barons had the approval of parliament.

Edward III became king under the regency of Roger Mortimer. England never sank lower than during the four years that followed. Fortunately the period was short; in 1330 the young Edward, then eighteen years old, asserted his right to the throne, and seizing Mortimer had him tried and executed. Then the personal rule of Edward III began.

CHAPTER X.

END OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

144. The New Age. — The reign of Edward I in England, as that of Philip IV in France, marks the beginning of the end of the Middle Ages. The new age was secular and political rather than religious and feudal. Feudalism as a political force was passing away. The great mediæval empire founded by Charles the Great (800) and revived by Otto I (962) as the Holy Roman Empire had steadily lost in prestige and power. The great mediæval church, the strongest and most influential of all institutions during the Middle Ages, which Gregory VII and Innocent III had placed higher in authority than kings and princes, was on the eve of a great decline. The Crusades, in origin great feudal adventures, were no longer interesting the leaders of the west; for kings in England, France, and Spain were engaged in building up strong centralized states, not in fighting Turks in the Holy Land. Royal aims were becoming national. Kings were becoming more powerful, because they were substituting their law for the old feudal customs, and were taking into their own hands control of justice and finance. They founded schools of law, and in the place of feudal lords took lawyers for their advisers. In the administration of government they began to employ legal methods and forms.

145. Edward's Trouble with Scotland. — When Edward III was crowned in 1327, England was still in the midst of the war with Scotland, whose independence was recognized in a "shameful peace" made by Roger Mortimer in 1328. The death of Robert Bruce and the accession of his son David,

a child of five, to the throne, gave a chance for the successful revolt of Edward Balliol, son of the old John Balliol. Edward III gave him aid, and Balliol as king of Scotland rendered homage to Edward as overlord.

146. Trouble with France. — Bruce fled to France and gained

From a photograph.

YORK MINSTER.

Begun in the twelfth century and finished in the fifteenth century. It is the cathedral of the archbishop of York ("Primate of England"; the archbishop of Canterbury bears the title "Primate of *all* England"). It is the centre of religious influence for the north of England.

the support of Philip VI, the first king of the new Valois line, who eagerly seized the opportunity of provoking Edward into a war with France. He wished to prevent if possible the union of Scotland to England and to drive the English from Guienne and Gascony in France. Edward was ready for the challenge and in this emergency made war inevitable by laying

claim to the throne of France. In this way began the Hundred Years' War with France.

It was fortunate for Edward that parliament favored the war, for since the Confirmation of the Charters, kings of England had had to depend upon that body for an important part of their revenues. For carrying on the war with France, parliament made large grants, and in return Edward made concessions.

147. Third Step in the Development of the House of Commons. — Parliament had undergone some important changes since 1295, when Edward I summoned his people to meet him at Westminster. Then parliament had been composed of three estates, the *clergy*, the *nobility*, and the *commons*. But sometime during the ensuing half-century it had ceased to be an assembly of estates and had *separated into two houses*. The clergy, as such, had ceased to attend, preferring to make their grant of money in their own convocation. The knights, sometime about 1330, had turned away from the nobles, to whom by origin they belonged, and had joined the burgesses, because they saw their interests to be identical with those of the burgesses rather than with those of the higher nobles. The knights, furthermore, were summoned by *general writ* addressed to the sheriff, and so, like the burgesses, were an elected body; while the lords were summoned *individually* by writs addressed to them by name. Thus, by 1332 we find *two houses* instead of three estates: a House of Lords, composed of the barons and greater clergy, the latter of whom sat, not as ecclesiastics, but as spiritual lords; and a House of Commons, composed of the knights and the burgesses.

Two important features characterize the development of the English parliament as contrasted with the parliamentary bodies of France and Spain. 1. Younger sons of barons were not noble and, if they went to parliament at all, went as knights or burgesses and sat in the House of Commons, thus preventing a social distinction between the two houses. 2. The higher clergy, bishops and abbots, were present because they were land-

holders, holders of baronies, and not because they were clergymen; they were but few in number and sat with the lords, whereas if all the higher clergy had come, they must have formed a separate house. The result was (1) that the House of Commons represented a larger part of the nation than did the representatives of the commons in France, and (2) that it

From a photograph.

Mediæval Guildhall at King's Lynn, Norfolk.

had but one house to oppose it in parliament instead of two, and the opposition of the House of Lords was rarely the scornful opposition of a social caste toward its inferiors. These conditions were favorable to a sturdy and independent development of the House of Commons in England.

148. Industry and Trade: Towns and Gilds. — Up to this time the towns, which were the centres of trade, had aimed to keep the control of the business in their own hands, in order to prevent outsiders, or "foreigners," from getting a share of

it. Soon after the Conquest, *merchant gilds* had sprung up in the majority of towns, and each gild regulated, with great minuteness, trade and industry of every kind within the town. Only members of the gild could do business in the town. Trade and commerce were managed entirely by the town as such, not by individuals or by the state. In the reign of Edward III the merchant gild began to give place to the craft gilds. The chief difference between these gilds was that the merchant gild controlled all the trading interests of the town, while each craft gild dealt only with its own particular industry. Trade still remained under the control of the towns, which in the fourteenth century were the chief centres of wealth in the kingdom.

The towns did business, of course, with other English towns, but they also had both import and export trade with towns abroad. As yet, however, the English had no merchant vessels, and were compelled to use foreign ships to carry on trade. The right to engage in such foreign trade was conferred on certain specially favored aliens. The merchants of Flanders and northern France enjoyed a monopoly of the trade, but Edward III encouraged other aliens to bring goods to England, and in 1335 granted freedom of trade to all outsiders. England was not, however, ready for so free a trade, and the policy was reversed in 1392 (p. 150).

At the same time Edward sought to regulate a new exporting business that had grown up under his grandfather. For convenience, merchants were sending the most important or staple goods, such as wool, hides, leather, and tin, to one Continental city, whence they were distributed. This gathering of exports in one city, called the Staple city, had many advantages: the goods in transit were more easily protected against pirates, the customs duties were more conveniently levied, and the business of buying and selling was more readily carried on. Edward abolished the Staple city and allowed English merchants to send their wool and other commodities where they pleased. But the plan did not work well, and after various changes, Calais in 1363 became the seat of the

foreign staple, and remained for about two centuries the centre of England's trade with the Continent.

The increasing wealth of the towns, largely due to the expansion of foreign trade, the greater revenue derived from import and export duties, and the rising credit of the kingdom, which made the negotiating of loans easier, gave Edward the money that he needed to carry on the French war.

149. The Hundred Years' War. — In this war (the causes of which have already been noted, p. 130) Edward was supported in part by the old feudal army and in part by the native yeomanry of England. The lords, who composed the cavalry, threw themselves into the war as if it were but a tournament governed by the rules of chivalry. Knights were eager for adventure; even ladies followed the armies to bestow their favors on successful warriors. But the most important part of Edward's army was national, not feudal, in character. The men of the Assize of Arms and the Statute of Winchester, that is, the freemen, armed with lances, bows and arrows, and other weapons, made up the infantry. These yeomen, though often unwillingly pressed into service, formed an efficient military force, the like of which was unknown on the Continent.

Great Battles of the War. — The beginning of English victory was the naval battle of *Sluys* (1340), which was fought between the English and the French fleets off the Flemish coast, resulted in the destruction of the French navy, and cleared the way for the invasion of France. Edward then determined on an invasion of France, and in 1346 landed on the coast at Cherbourg. Pushing his way inland, — a dangerous venture, for without connection with the seacoast he was in constant danger of being cut off and surrounded in a hostile land by the enemy's forces, — he was brought to bay by Philip, near the little town of *Crécy*, August 26, 1346. Here a famous battle was fought, in which the English archers won a victory over the feudal army of the French king. The bowmen placed in the front of the battle first shot down ruthlessly the

Genoese mercenaries of the French king, and then repelled every advance of the armed feudal cavalry. The number of French dead is said to have equalled the whole English force. In this battle the fifteen-year-old Black Prince (of Wales) — so called from the black armor he wore — won his spurs and the honor of knighthood.

After Crécy, Edward advanced to Calais, which surrendered (1347) after a year's siege and remained a possession of the English kings for more than two hundred years.

The first period of the war ended with the capture of Calais, but in 1355 war was renewed. Philip had died in 1350, and his son John took up the struggle. At the same time the Scots renewed the attack from the north. In the summer of 1355 Edward mercilessly devastated Lothian out of wrath against Scotland, while his son, the Black Prince, starting from Gascony, harried central France from Guienne to Poitiers. At the latter town the prince was confronted by a French army, larger than his own, under the command of John himself, and was compelled to fight for his life. But at *Poitiers*, as at Crécy, the English archers carried the day. King John was captured

From a photograph.

EFFIGY OF THE BLACK PRINCE ON HIS TOMB IN CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL.

Over this tomb hangs the prince's armor, which he wore in the French War.

and the French forces completely defeated. The battle was fought on September 19, 1356.

The Peace of Bretigny. — The succession of English victories, the capture of King John, the ruin which had fallen on the country, forced the French to make peace with the English. At Bretigny, in 1360, a treaty was signed. According to this treaty, Edward gave up his claim to the French throne and to all lands in northern France except Calais and Ponthieu and some other towns and castles. In return he received the whole of the duchies of Gascony and Guienne, to be held by him henceforth in full sovereignty and no longer as a vassal of the French king, and in addition a ransom for the French king of three million gold crowns. Three years before, he had made peace with Scotland, had released David Bruce, and, in return for one hundred thousand marks ransom money and the towns of Berwick and Roxburgh, acknowledged Bruce's title to the crown.

150. The Position of Edward III. — In 1360 Edward was at the height of his success. Victor at Crécy, Calais, and Poitiers, the master of two kings, one of France and the other of Scotland, he had been able to dictate a peace which freed the English king from his vassalage to the king of France and which restored to the English crown lands in southern France. His reign had been a time of splendor and display. French booty and money were poured into England, and luxury invaded the life of the court. Edward encouraged an artificial chivalry, which, with its Order of the Garter, the Thistle, and the Golden Fleece, its Round Table and Courts of Love, gave rise to a social caste far different from the truer feudal chivalry of the Crusades.

Chaucer. — Of this life Chaucer wrote in the *Canterbury Tales*, the first great collection of narrative poems in English. These tales are told by thirty pilgrims, representative of the middle and upper classes of English society, who are on their way from the Tabard Inn in southern London to the tomb of the martyred Thomas à Becket at Canterbury; and while telling

their tales these pilgrims not only give an excellent idea of their own characters, but also show us a picture of English life at this period.

From a photograph.

INTERIOR OF CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL.

Becket was slain beyond the arch and to the left. His shrine, to which pilgrimages were made, was beyond the farthest point seen in the picture.

151. The Manorial System. — All land in England at this time was supposedly under a lord and was cultivated by the villagers over whom the lord had jurisdiction. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries these villagers, called villeins, were obliged to remain for life and to labor on their lord's land. Such an obligation was necessary at this time. Feudal lords derived their

From a photograph.

TITHE BARN AT BRADFORD-ON-AVON.

wealth from their lands; their lands had to be cultivated; and inasmuch as hired labor had hardly as yet come into existence, the only persons to cultivate them were the tenants. Upon the manors the methods of cultivation were almost everywhere the same. The villagers worked in the open fields, ploughed, sowed, and harvested, much as they had done for centuries. A large portion of their time they devoted to the demesne lands, consisting of those strips in the great open fields that were held by the lord. They were also required to make certain payments, some of which were regularly sent in for the support of the lord. The

WESTERN EUROPE
At the time of the
PEACE OF BRETIGNY
1360.
Red Line Indicates Boundary of the Holy Roman Empire.
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400 500
Longitude West from Greenwich
Longitude East
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
BAY OF BISCAY
ENGLAND
IRELAND
FRANCE
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
DENMARK
NORWAY
SWEDEN
GERMANY
BOHEMIA
HUNGARY
POLAND
PRUSSIA
SILESIA
BRANDENBURG
SAXONY
BAVARIA
AUSTRIA
SWITZERLAND
ITALY
CORSICA
SARDINIA
SICILY
NAPLES
PAPAL STATES
DUCHY OF AQUITAINE
DUCHY OF BRITTANY
DUCHY OF BURGUNDY
DUCHY OF MILAN
DUCHY OF PROVENCE
DUCHY OF LORRAINE
DUCHY OF BRABANT
DUCHY OF GUELDERS
DUCHY OF LUXEMBURG
DUCHY OF SAVOY
DUCHY OF GENOA
DUCHY OF FRIULI
DUCHY OF CROATIA
DUCHY OF BOSNIA
DUCHY OF STYRIA
DUCHY OF CARINTHIA
DUCHY OF CARNIOLA
DUCHY OF TYROL
DUCHY OF SWABIA
DUCHY OF FRANCONIA
DUCHY OF THURINGIA
DUCHY OF MISNIA
DUCHY OF SILESIA
DUCHY OF POMERANIA
DUCHY OF MORAVIA
DUCHY OF BRUNSWICK
DUCHY OF SAXONY
DUCHY OF HOLLAND
DUCHY OF ZEALAND

amount of both labor and payment was fixed by the "custom of the manor." The extent of the manoral jurisdiction varied greatly. Sometimes it covered only one vill, often it extended more widely. There was no single rule or law in governing the relation of lord and villeins. All was determined by local custom, though in general the conditions prevailing in one manor prevailed in all.

152. Changes in the Agricultural System. — The changes that mark the transition from the mediæval system of agriculture to one more modern were just beginning to appear, and were not to be completed for two centuries. Population was increasing and land was growing scarce. The old wasteful methods of agriculture could not compete with the new conditions in trade and industry. The amount of money in circulation had increased, first in the towns and at court, and gradually in the country districts. Three results followed: (1) lords let out their own lands, the demesne lands, at a money rent to farmers, who were sometimes their own bailiffs, trying to make a profit out of agriculture; (2) many villeins began to commute their labor service for money; while (3) others, attracted by the new opportunities in the towns, began to desert the manors. In order to fill their places, hired laborers, hitherto very rare, had to be obtained. Thus a new system of *leased farms* and *paid labor* began to be introduced into the agricultural organization. This important social and economic change proceeded slowly, until it received a check because of the Black Death.

153. The Black Death. — In the interval between Crécy and Poitiers a fearful plague spread over England, known as the *Black Death*. During the years 1348 and 1349 from a third to a half of the population perished. The fearful disease spared no class of society, but fell most heavily (1) upon the artisans in the crowded towns, where little pains was taken to keep houses and streets clean; (2) upon the agricultural laborers in the country, whose hovels and cottages were always filthy; and (3) upon the monks, and the parish priests. At one time in London the mortality rose to two hundred a day, while in

certain manors of from three to four hundred population, more than a hundred and fifty were carried off from each.

Results. — The great plague effected one important change in the situation on the manors. Before the Black Death laborers were plentiful, villeins were beginning to pay money instead of laboring for the lands they held, and the lord was hiring laborers at a daily wage to cultivate his lands. The plague cut down the supply of labor, both on the manors and in the towns. But land had to be cultivated and industry had to be carried on, consequently the demand for labor became greater than the supply. The free laborer could ask what wages he liked, either in agriculture or in trade. For the lords of manors the situation was made worse by the failure of crops, the rise of prices, and the frequent desertion of the villeins, who, attracted by higher wages, rushed to the towns to fill the places made vacant by the deaths there. Then king and parliament stepped in and tried to regulate wages by legislation. Parliament was, in the main, a body of landholders, so that what it did was in its own interest, not in that of the peasantry.

Statutes of Laborers. — First, in 1349, the king issued a decree addressed to the sheriffs, bidding them see that every man and woman, free and bond, return to service at the old wages. Two years later, this decree was embodied by parliament in a statute known as the *Statute of Laborers*, designed to keep down, by main force, the price of labor. The statute forbade hired laborers in the country and artisans in the cities to receive more than they had been customarily paid in 1346, and forbade, likewise, lords of towns and manors to pay higher wages, on penalty of a fine. Many later statutes, growing increasingly severe in their regulation of labor, were passed to deal with this difficult situation. These statutes declared that all persons named in them must work at a reasonable rate, the amount of which parliament was unwilling to fix absolutely. Not to work for a reasonable wage was an offence against the law, as was also the giving of wages that were unreasonable. A determined effort was made to carry out these statutes, both by

specially appointed commissions and by the justices of the peace in the counties, and to a certain extent the effort was successful. The significance of the statutes is that England was beginning to deal with a new and very difficult problem, hitherto settled by the towns and manors themselves, — the problem of labor, wages, and above all of poverty. The Statutes of Laborers are the first of the "Poor Laws."

154. Losses in France: Corruption at Home. — The period from 1360 to 1377 is one of steady decline in the greatness and brilliancy of the king's reign. Notwithstanding the peace of Bretigny (p. 136) the war with France was renewed, and after 1370 province after province in France withdrew its allegiance from the king of England. The French king, Charles V, regained most of what had been lost by the peace of Bretigny, and though John of Gaunt, a younger son of Edward III, ravaged the country from Calais to Bordeaux, he did little to restore English control. Pope Gregory XI made every effort to bring about peace between France and England, but his efforts were vain. France was fighting for the old purpose of driving the English out of the country, and was succeeding. By 1375 the English held little more than the cities of Bordeaux, Bayonne, and Calais.

Meanwhile, at home, administration had become very corrupt. The king was mentally broken and under the control of John of Gaunt. The elder son, the Black Prince, was suffering from a disease which wholly unfitted him for taking part in the government. A clique of the friends of John of Gaunt controlled affairs. They systematically robbed the nation by illegal exactions, by receiving privileges and abusing them, and by raising prices and appropriating the proceeds.

155. The Good Parliament. — So empty had the treasury become in 1376, in consequence of the costly wars and the corruption at court, that the king's privy council decided to summon parliament, which had not been called since 1373. Parliament had grown steadily in power during the reign of Edward III and had established effectively its control over

taxation. Though called to do no more than consent to what the king and his council proposed, the knights and burgesses could refuse their consent if necessary. They were gradually becoming accustomed to their position, and should occasion offer, were ready to remonstrate and even to assume on emergency powers of their own.

In 1376 the opportunity came. Summoned for the purpose of consenting to a levy of taxes, the knights and burgesses, in an angry mood, determined before they granted a penny of supplies to get rid of the men who had mismanaged affairs and robbed the treasury. Supported by the Black Prince, who, a helpless invalid, resented the tyrannical attitude of his younger brother, John of Gaunt, they took a new and unexpected stand. They declared that the king would have had enough money had the realm been wisely governed, and that as long as evil men were in office, no grant of theirs could bring prosperity to the kingdom. To make their protest more effective, they elected a speaker, Peter de la Mare, a knight of the shire of Hereford, and through him they formally impeached the friends of John of Gaunt as traitors to the king, and demanded that they be deprived of their offices. John of Gaunt, anxious to appease the people, whose friend he always claimed to be, and fearing the power of the Black Prince, yielded to the demand of the Commons. The death of the Black Prince during the sitting of parliament greatly discouraged their leaders and left them more or less at the mercy of John of Gaunt. The latter, who had yielded to their demands only to strengthen his own position, now came out in his true colors, and led a reaction against the work of the Good Parliament. He brought back his favorites and threw Peter de la Mare into prison. A packed parliament of 1377 confirmed these acts.

156. State and Church: Religious Degeneration. — For three-quarters of a century parliament had been disputing the right of the pope to interfere in English affairs. In 1307 it had forbidden the heads of religious houses to send any money to

Rome, and had protested against the way higher ecclesiastical officials abroad were forcing money from the monasteries and religious houses in England. In 1351 it passed the first *Statute of Provisors*, imposing severe penalties upon all who received benefices at the hands of the pope. In like manner, the right of appeal to the pope had been forbidden in 1353 by the first *Statute of Præmunire*. The king, however, rarely enforced these statutes, and they had to be repeated again and again. These acts were the acts of parliament, and not of the clergy; that is, they were the acts of the state, and not of the church.

At the very time when parliament was limiting the authority of the pope in England, the people were becoming thoroughly dissatisfied with the way in which the English clergy were performing their religious duties. The higher clergy, bishops and abbots, had become worldly and avaricious; the monasteries had absorbed great wealth; the lesser clergy, the parish priests, were wretchedly poor and inefficient, often unable to perform their parish duties.

William Langland,[1] the author of *The Vision of Piers Plowman*, himself perhaps a villein who had risen to the rank of the lesser clergy and had spent his life in the performance of his duties, presents a sorrowful picture of the condition of the friars and the parochial priests. The latter, he says, neglected their charges, quarrelled with the friars, and lived as wolves among their own sheep.

157. John Wiclif. — The man who led the attack upon the privileges, corruption, and wealth of the clergy was John Wiclif. He was born in Yorkshire in 1320, and went in early life to Oxford, where he was for a time master of Balliol Col-

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[1] *The Vision of William concerning Piers the Plowman*, ed. Skeat, 1886, Vol. I, Text C. VII, 119–129, VIII, 1–67, XVII, 241–278. A modern version of this poem is issued in the King's Classics Series. For Langland, whose tale was the wretchedness of the people, as Chaucer's was the pleasure of the aristocratic class, see Taine, pp. 100 ff., and Jusserand, *Literary History of the English People*, I, Bk. III, Ch. IV. Chaucer and Langland should be read for difference in the points of view. See the quotations in Frazer, Part II, Nos. 2, 13, 20, 21, 24, 25, 26 ("A Pardoner"), 31.

lege. In 1374 he was made rector of Lutterworth, a village in Leicestershire, which became on this account the centre of a new religious agitation. Wiclif was the last of the mediæval schoolmen. But he was no unpractical theorizer; he saw the evils of the times and protested against them.

WICLIF.
From an engraving by Alexander Van Hæcken.

Wiclif's teaching was largely destructive. He denounced the claims of the papacy, and as early as 1366, in a pamphlet, *The Dominion of God*, had declared that the state was not subordinate to the church. He next attacked the clergy for their wealth and their interest in worldly affairs, and declared that the church should limit itself strictly to its spiritual functions. He vigorously opposed the use by the clergy of excommunication. In 1377 his views were condemned by Gregory XI, but the condemnation was without effect in England. A great schism in the church, resulting in the election of two popes, weakened the authority of the papacy, and Wiclif, taking advantage of this fact, grew bolder. He attacked the doctrines as well as the practices of the church, and asserted the superiority of an active over an ascetic life, a claim the more striking in that the ascetic had been the ideal of the Middle Ages. He inveighed against the

friars, whom he charged with hypocrisy and worldliness; he inspired a body of "poor priests" to preach to the people; and he gave to these priests an *English Bible*, translated by himself or his followers, probably the most complete version issued up to this time.

RICHARD II.

From the contemporary picture formerly in Westminster Abbey. This is the first contemporary painting of any English king.

158. Accession of Richard II. — In 1377 Edward III died, and his grandson Richard, son of the Black Prince, ascended the throne without opposition. The young king was a mere lad of ten, and for twelve years England was ruled by regencies. Richard came to the throne in an evil time. The French were threatening to invade England; parties at court were engaged in factional quarrels and were struggling with each other for the control of the government. The baronage, with the king's uncle, John of Gaunt, as their leading representative, had degenerated into a body of selfish parasites, preying on the wealth of the kingdom.

The situation was one calling for statesmanship of a high order. Older ideas and institutions were giving way before

new ways of thinking and living. The agricultural system was being transformed and agriculture was declining in importance; industry, trade, and commerce were competing with agriculture, towns were increasing in size and wealth, and money was circulating more widely than ever before; religious unrest and heresy were prevalent, and the mediæval church as a factor in the daily life of the people was becoming less conspicuous and influential; heavy and expensive wars were increasing taxation, while popular burdens were made weightier by bad government, corruption in high places, and extravagance. The times called for a strong king or a strong minister, but no such leader appeared in English history for many years.

But the troubles at court and the difficult problem of Richard's personal character are of but little importance when compared with (1) the peasant's revolt, (2) the rise of the Lollards, and (3) the growth and activities of parliament.

159. I. The Condition and Grievances of the Peasantry. — During the fourteenth century the condition of the villeins had been improving: they had begun to pay money so as to be free from labor on the lord's demesne land, and the lords had begun to lease out their home lands, or else to employ hired laborers to work them instead of the villeins, as formerly. Thus the old agricultural system was breaking down, the growth of towns and of commerce was giving to the peasantry new means of livelihood, and a new class of society was taking shape, composed of free or hired laborers. The changing economic conditions were causing widespread restlessness and discontent. The villeins remaining on the manors were restless under the yoke of their labor services. The hired laborers hated the statutes fixing their wages and the lawyers and justices of the peace who enforced the law against them. The people in general hated the rich, whether nobles or merchants, for their indifference, and the monasteries for their tyranny and selfishness; and they sided with the parish priests in their poverty.

160. The Peasant Revolt of 1381. — A single act turned the irritation of the laboring classes into a revolt. So great had

become the deficit of the government that parliament adopted a new form of tax, a poll tax, or so much a head on every one over sixteen years of age. The last time this tax was levied it was made exceedingly heavy and became very unpopular. On the appearance of the tax collectors Essex and Kent gave

A Reaper's Cart going Up-hill.

From fourteenth century drawing in Jusserand's *English Wayfaring Life*. The condition of the roads may be imagined from the number of men and horses required. The hill is exaggerated to fit the picture to its proper space.

the first signal for the revolt, followed by Norfolk, Suffolk, and other counties; and before the year 1381 was over, a large portion of southern and southeastern England was to a greater or less extent in insurrection. Each district in town and county had its own special grievance; no one cause or set of causes can be given to explain the movement as a whole. Even the friars, teaching poverty and a common brotherhood, gave a religious sanction to the uprising.

In the three populous counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridge, where the movement was earliest checked, the revolt had the appearance of a concerted uprising instigated by revolutionary agents working secretly among the people. The mob of Suffolk, consisting of villeins, hired laborers, members

of the lesser clergy, tradesmen, and artisans, sacked manor-houses and monasteries, burning and plundering at will.

While the insurrection was spreading in the east, a large body of men from the southeastern counties gathered under John Ball, the preacher, and Wat Tyler (the tiler), on June 12, 1381, to march on London. They were convinced that John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster and the uncle of the king, was in part responsible for the evil government, and they determined to ask redress of the young king. On June 13 they entered London and destroyed the palace of John of Gaunt, the Temple (the house of the lawyers), and other Inns where lived students of the law. Richard met them on the 14th and promised to abolish serfdom and all forms of servile labor, to pardon all the rebels, to permit the villeins to trade outside the manors in the towns, and to fix rents of lands at fourpence an acre. When this had been done, the more moderate insurgents dispersed. But the radicals remained, and in the rioting that followed Wat Tyler was slain. The king, seizing the opportune moment when the rioters were confused by the loss of their leader, shrewdly placed himself at their head and led them away from the city. From that moment the cause of the rebels was lost.

The government took a frightful revenge. Rioters were hanged without mercy; none of the rebels was spared. John Ball was caught and hanged. Parliament compelled the king to repeal all the liberating charters and itself passed an act annulling all the concessions that had been made. The immediate results of the peasants' revolt were probably slight; the landlords, taking advantage of an unsuccessful uprising, probably made the lot of the villein for the moment harder than it had been before. But no legislation could stop the economic and social change that was taking place in the fourteenth century. The movement that was transforming labor services into money payments, the villein into the free laborer, and the old open fields into lands let out at lease went steadily on.

161. II. The Religious Revolt: the Lollards. — Popular discontent, thus expressed on the social and economic side in the revolt of the peasants, found expression on the religious side in the rise of the Lollards. The Lollards were followers of Wiclif. They denounced the sacraments, believed in preaching as the chief aid in effecting conversion, denied transubstantiation, and opposed confession and the worship of saints. Before the peasants' revolt, little had been done to check this heresy; but after 1381, though no Lollard was ever accused of participation in the uprising, a vigorous campaign, led by the archbishop of Canterbury, was begun, and Wiclif's doctrines were condemned.

The first generation of Lollards was unable to withstand these attacks of the church. As has been well said, "They were not ready to be martyrs." All who were brought to trial at this time recanted and returned to the fold; but thousands, taught by the "poor priests" of Wiclif, continued to receive the doctrines presented to them and to believe in secret or without outward display. Wiclif died in 1384, but his death was only an incident in the movement. The revolt from the doctrines of the mediæval church had begun; and in the next century, men of the second generation were willing to be burned at the stake for their faith.[1] The revolt of the Lollards made easier the religious reformation of the sixteenth century in England.

162. III. Richard and Parliament. — Richard was not an incompetent king, as was Edward II, but he was inexperienced and unable to see what the country needed, and he tried to make himself an absolute king, governing without the interference of the nobles. Parliament, though meeting regularly and protesting frequently against the bad government and heavy

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[1] Wiclif's teaching was carried back to Bohemia by the students and others who had come to England in the train of Anne of Bohemia, Richard's first wife (1382), and had studied at Oxford. In Bohemia the new ideas bore fruit in the movement under John Hus, who was on the Continent, as was Wiclif in England, the forerunner of Luther and the Protestant Reformation.

taxes, was not an independent body speaking for the nation. It was controlled by the barons, who used it as an instrument aiding them to obtain control of government and riddance of their enemies. Attendance on parliament was a heavy burden, and neither knights nor burgesses went to Westminster willingly. Even when there they had as yet but little power to check the king or to control the barons.

Richard's government may be divided into three periods:

1. During the first period of his rule, particularly from 1383 to 1388, the king, freeing himself from the control of the barons, chose his own officials and entered upon a practical application of his own idea of absolute government. But in 1388 parliament, acting under the influence of the great nobles, checked the king's rule and put an end to his tyranny and extravagance.

2. With 1389, Richard, now of age, forsaking favorites and despotic methods, began to govern with moderation through his ministers and with the advice of parliament. For eight years he governed as a constitutional king. Finances were ably managed, taxation was light and fairly apportioned, and many wise statutes were passed touching (1) commerce, (2) the church, and (3) the nobles.

In his *commercial policy* Richard encouraged aliens to trade in England, as Edward III had done. But the towns, particularly London, protested against the privileges granted to aliens, inasmuch as English artisans were already working up wool into cloths at home. Therefore, in 1392, parliament passed a law to discourage alien trade. But at the same time it encouraged native *English industry*, and made possible the control of the internal and retail trade of England by Englishmen.

No less important were the statutes dealing with the *church*. Already parliament had declared in the Statutes of Provisors and Præmunire (p. 143) that the pope should not control the appointments of the clergy in England, and that no Englishman should appeal from the king's courts to the pope. But so

persistent had been the efforts of the clergy to evade these statutes and so willing had the king been to neglect them, that up to this time they had never been really enforced. In 1390 a second Statute of Provisors was passed, which declared that the pope could have no control over any appointment to benefices whatever. In 1393 a second Statute of Præmunire declared that the pope could not annul any judgment of the king's court, hear any appeals from England, excommunicate bishops or "any other of the king's liege people," or send "sentences of excommunication, bulls, instruments, or anything else whatsoever which touched the king, against him, his crown, and his regality."

In the third place, parliament sought to abolish a practice which had become widespread among the *nobility*, namely, the practice of *maintaining bodies of retainers*, often sufficient in number to form almost a petty army. This practice had become common after 1290, when the statute *Quia Emptores* forbade subinfeudation. To supply the place of the subtenants, who by their tenure had been obliged to do military services for their lords, the dukes and earls had gathered about them men whom they hired to fight their battles. These men wore the lord's livery, and were fed at his expense; and their brawls were frequent sources of trouble. Ineffective attempts had been made to prevent this practice by Edward III, by the Good Parliament, and now by the parliament of Richard II in 1390, but the evil was to be swept away only during the wars of the next century.

3. From 1389 to 1397 Richard ruled with moderation and prudence, avoiding extravagance and war, and aiding in the passage of laws useful to the nation at large. In 1396 his first wife died, and two years after, Richard married the daughter of the king of France. While in France he observed the absolutism of the French king and the extravagance of the French court, and on his return he determined to put again into practice his theory of absolutism. The character of the government changed. By the parliament of 1398 at Shrewsbury, a packed

body, the acts of the parliaments of 1387–1388 were annulled, ordinances of the king were declared to have the force of statutes, and a duty on wool and hides was granted to the king

From a photograph.

CONWAY CASTLE, ON THE LEFT BANK OF THE CONWAY RIVER IN WALES.

It was built in 1284 by Edward I to help keep down the Welsh.

for life. Thus Richard became independent of parliament and practically absolute.

163. Deposition of Richard II. — This policy aroused the opposition of a party of nobles that found a leader in Henry Bolingbroke, son of the king's uncle, John of Gaunt. At first Bolingbroke had found favor with his cousin Richard. But in 1398 he had been banished by the king without apparent cause. This act, coupled with Richard's seizure of the lands

of John of Gaunt, after the latter's death in 1399, turned Bolingbroke, now duke of Lancaster, against the king. When, therefore, in 1399, Richard unwisely left England to drive back the Celts, who were encroaching on the English settlements in Ireland, Henry landed in Yorkshire and quickly gathered the malcontents about him. Richard, returning from

THE PARLIAMENT WHICH DEPOSED RICHARD II.

From an old manuscript of the fourteenth century, in Jusserand's *English Wayfaring Life.*

Ireland, was captured at Conway Castle, in Wales, and realizing that the lords, the church, and the nation were against him, abdicated his throne. In the presence of parliament the act of deposition was read, and the throne was declared vacant, not because the king had governed badly, as had Edward II, but because he had tried to become an absolute monarch and so had broken the law. Absolute monarchy was contrary to law in England in 1399. When Richard had been declared deposed, Henry of Lancaster claimed the crown in a speech delivered in English instead of in French, the court language under the Angevins, and parliament recognized the claim. In so doing

it passed by the earl of March, descended through his grandmother from the second son of Edward III, in favor of Henry IV, son of the third son.[1] The victory of parliament was a step backward in favor of the old order of things instead of a step forward toward an understanding of the new conditions that were prevailing among the English people. It was the victory of the nobility and not of the nation.

164. General Survey. — The last years of the fourteenth and the first years of the fifteenth centuries bring us to a significant turning point in the history of England. The Middle Ages had passed away, but everywhere traces of mediæval institutions and social traditions were to be seen. The most powerful men in the country were the *great lords* possessing retinues, fortified castles, family traditions and names, controlling government, opposing monarchy, and warring with each other, an artificial feudal class. On the other hand, representative not of the past, but of the future, were the *towns*, already entering upon a new commercial and artisan life, the *freeholders*, already the yeomanry of England, and the *villeins*, well advanced in their progress toward freedom. The reign of Richard and the reigns of the Lancastrian kings show these classes breaking through the crust of mediævalism and pushing forward to greater prominence in the life and government of the nation. The factional quarrels of the nobility foreshadowed the feudal death grapple of the Wars of the Roses; the growth of the towns made possible a native English commerce; the rise of the yeomanry and the release of the villeins from bondage looked forward to a new agriculture and a new

[1] Henry in his claim asserted that he had the better hereditary title, because he was descended from Edmund of Lancaster, who, according to a story current at the time, was the eldest son of Henry III. Later writers, trying to make good the title of the Lancastrians, argued that the York title, derived through the house of March, was less sound than that of Lancaster, because the earl of March was the son of the *daughter* of Lionel, duke of Clarence, while with the Lancastrians the male line was unbroken. But Henry IV did not make this claim in 1399. The Lancastrians' hereditary right was not disputed by the Yorkists until 1460.

system of labor and gave to the nation a new social class no longer bound to the soil and unprotected by the courts. England was in the midst of a great social and economic revolution; but none were more ignorant of this fact than the selfish and turbulent nobility, who under Richard and the Lancastrians were the political leaders of England. Almost the only progress that took place during this period was among the lower and less conspicuous classes of the people.

CHAPTER XI.

END OF FEUDALISM: THE WARS OF THE ROSES.

165. Henry IV. — Henry Bolingbroke, duke of Lancaster, claimed the throne partly by hereditary title, but still more, as he said, because "the realm was in point to be undone for default of governance and undoing of good laws." Parliament in accepting him as king was undoubtedly influenced by the hereditary claim, but it was moved much more by the desire to have a king who should not play the absolute monarch, but should be dependent on parliament for his authority.

Henry was the first *parliamentary* king in English history; but he represented the conservative and aristocratic portion of parliament rather than the knights and burgesses, the party of the future. He was himself mediæval in policy: an upholder of the temporal power of the church, hostile to the Lollards, and a stanch supporter of the feudal prerogatives of the feudal lords in all that concerned their relations with their freeholders and villeins. Though his accession as king gave to parliament a great opportunity to extend its authority and influence, yet it did not aid in the least degree the emancipation of the peasant or the Lollard. Progress in this particular was hardly perceptible; neither king nor parliament did anything to hasten it.

166. Conspiracies against the King. — The choice of parliament did not by any means find unanimous support in England, and during Henry's early years as king attempts were made to dethrone him. At the very beginning of the reign a conspiracy of Richard's kinsmen was suppressed and the conspirators executed. After Richard's death in January, 1400, his adherents turned to Edmund, earl of March (1391–

1425), a youth of ten years, whom Richard had designated as his successor, and began a revolt in the north, where the Percys, of whom the earl of Northumberland was the head, ruled as practically independent feudal lords. Acting in conjunction with the Welsh, who had always been devoted to Richard, the Percys advanced southward, but were defeated at Shrewsbury on the Welsh border (1403). There Henry Percy (Hotspur) was killed. Hotspur's father, Northumberland, again conspired, but the conspiracy was betrayed and he was slain. Through the failure of these conspiracies Henry's position toward the end of his reign became more secure.

HENRY IV.

From a portrait — artist unknown — in the National Portrait Gallery, London.

167. Persecution of the Lollards. — Henry was supported in the main by the higher clergy, whose interests he had promised to respect and who deemed him the defender of the church against the Lollards. The lower clergy were generally hostile, the friars hated the usurper and preached disloyalty to the people; the monks aided in hatching plots and creating turbulence among the peasantry. The age was one of great religious doubt and uncertainty as to what to do and think. Men did not know where to look for authority, either in church or state.

The great Christian church was divided by a schism, and for a part of the period three popes existed; men's minds were in great confusion, and those who followed the heretical teachings of Wiclif increased in number.

HENRY V.
From a portrait — artist unknown — in the National Portrait Gallery, London.

The "Prince Hal" of Shakespeare; there is no authority for Shakespeare's characterization, as King Henry was a sober and dignified monarch.

King and archbishop were at one in their opinion of the Lollard heretics. Henry upheld the church in the persecution of them and aided the bishops to suppress them by force. The parliament of 1401 passed a statute authorizing the burning of heretics, the first law passed in England for the suppression of religious opinions. According to this statute the sheriffs, mayors, and bailiffs were to carry out the sentence of the ecclesiastical courts in the case of heretics. There is nothing to show that the Lollards engaged in any plots against the government in this period, but in the next reign they became offenders against the state as well as against the church.

168. Henry V. — In 1413 Henry IV died, leaving the crown without opposition to the Prince of Wales, who ascended the

throne on May 20 as Henry V. The traditions that Prince Hal's early years were a time of rioting and dissipation are mainly the exaggerations of later writers, for the prince as king showed a sobriety and dignity of demeanor wholly at variance with the account that Shakespeare has given of him and Falstaff. He had already directed affairs during the illness of his father, and had shown his military ability in the many battles that his father had been called upon to fight. He was possessed of nobility of character, considerable learning, and gracious manners. His life was a brilliant one, but his ambitions were injurious to England, and his statesmanship was of a distinctly inferior type. He was a warrior, but his eyes were turned to the past rather than to the future; he believed that it was a holy obligation to aid in religious persecution and to continue the war against France.

169. Persecution and Decline of the Lollards. — Under Richard II the Lollards had generally recanted; under Henry IV they had become martyrs for their faith; under Henry V they were not only heretics but revolutionists also. The chief Lollard of the time was Sir John Oldcastle, a soldier and a scholar, "who openly encouraged the sectarian preachers on his estate and in his castle." He was condemned as a heretic and handed over to the secular power "to do him thereupon to death" (1413). Oldcastle escaped, and for four years became the supposed leader of a Lollard conspiracy against the king. He was charged with aiding the Welsh and negotiating with the Scots. Finally, in 1417, Oldcastle was captured, hanged as a traitor, and afterward his body was burned because he had been a heretic. From this time forward Lollardy became a faith only for the poorer classes. Those who were burnt were generally parish priests or lowly persons. During the Wars of the Roses there is little evidence of activity among the Lollards.

170. Position of Parliament under the Lancastrians. — The many conspiracies under Henry IV, and the war with France under Henry V, made the reigns of the Lancastrians burden-

some and expensive, and, dependent as they were upon parliament for their title, they were increasingly dependent on it because of their constant need of money. The constitution of the kingdom was taking definite shape: the king, with wide powers; his officials, chancellor, treasurer, and secretaries or royal clerks, with functions well understood; the council or body of the king's advisers, nineteen or twenty in number, advising the king upon every exercise of the royal power and during this period acting as a very important factor in the government of the state; lastly, parliament, meeting yearly, and endeavoring to coöperate with the king in bringing about good government, but without much success, for until the Wars of the Roses had ended the great nobles were the leaders in the council, in parliament, and in local affairs.

Parliament attempted to do many things. It tried to control the selection of the king's council, to audit the public accounts, to impeach bad ministers, and to pass good laws. It did control taxation and made good its demand that *redress of grievances should precede a grant of supplies.* It asked that the parliamentary privileges of its members be recognized, that they should not be held responsible for what they said in parliament, and that their petitions be speedily answered by the king. In 1407 Henry IV agreed that money bills should originate in the House of Commons; in 1414 Henry V promised not to alter a petition without the consent of the House, a promise which had it always been kept would have made a petition almost the same as a bill such as we have to-day; in 1433 it was determined that a statute to be law should be issued not by the king or by the king and the House of Lords, but by the whole parliament. On account of the interference of the nobility in the elections of knights and burgesses, important statutes were passed defining who should be elected and by whom, and declaring that all local elections must be "free." Many other well-intentioned statutes were passed, which were to have an important influence as precedents at a later time. But under the Lancastrians there existed no

strong king or minister to enforce these laws, and they were not carried out. Parliamentary government under the Lancastrians was a failure; the great lords who had placed the king under the law were not willing to submit to the law themselves.

171. Renewal of the Hundred Years' War. — England and France had been at war almost incessantly since 1337. The treaty of Bretigny and the truces agreed to after 1360, had not brought about permanent peace. That which Edward III, the Black Prince, and John of Gaunt had done Henry V continued, and his military deeds rivaled Crécy and Poitiers. In 1414 he revived the English claims to the lost provinces in the south of France, and in 1415 demanded the crown of France itself. Both demands were, of course, rejected, and in 1415 Henry, with six thousand archers and two thousand men-at-arms, landed on the coast of Normandy. Though his force was depleted by pestilence, he resolved to march to Calais, through the enemy's country. (See Map, p. 78.) At *Agincourt* he was confronted by the French army, four times as large as his own. Through incredible blunders on the part of the French, Henry won a famous victory, which increased immeasurably the prestige of the English archer and decreased the value of the heavily armed feudal knight. Henry returned to England in triumph, and was received by the people with demonstrations of joy. The battle of Agincourt (October 25, 1415) repaid England for the losses she had suffered since Bretigny, and increased the war fever at home.

In 1417 Henry invaded France for the second time, and during the year and a half that followed became the master of all Normandy. Such unprecedented victory was possible only because of the wars between the parties in France, factional quarrels similar to the Wars of the Roses in England. A treaty was concluded at Troyes (1420) according to which Henry was recognized as the heir of the French king, whose daughter was given to him in marriage.

But the Dauphin,[1] refusing thus to be deprived of his in-

[1] Title of the eldest son of the king of France.

heritance, defeated the English during the absence of Henry in 1421. For a third time Henry returned to France, where he succumbed to a greater conqueror than the Dauphin. On August 31, 1422, Henry died at Vincennes, leaving a son but nine months old heir to the throne. He also left a war which never ought to have been begun and one that England was quite unable to carry to a successful issue. Henry V spent almost his entire reign in an effort to prolong the life of worn-out institutions and to put in practice worn-out ideas.

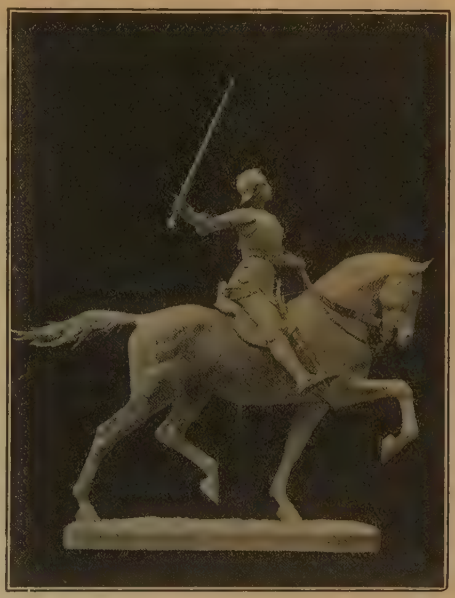
HENRY VI.

From a portrait — artist unknown — in Eton College, which he founded.

Although the English kings since Edward III had claimed to be kings of both England and France, Henry VI was the only English king ever crowned in France with that title.

172. End of the Hundred Years' War: Joan of Arc. — By a curious coincidence Charles VI of France died in the same year with Henry V of England, and the young nine-months-old Henry VI, according to the terms of the treaty of Troyes (1420), became king of France, with his uncle, the duke of Bedford, as regent. His title was acknowledged in northern France, and for the first six years Bedford succeeded in maintaining and continuing the conquests. Maine was reduced and the Loire region oc-

cupied. In 1428 the English laid siege to Orleans. The fortunes of the Dauphin, Charles VII, who had refused to acknowledge Henry's claim, never seemed at a lower ebb than in 1428, when there took place one of the most extraordinary occurrences in history. *Joan of Arc*, a village maid of Domremy, in Champagne, presented herself before Charles, and declared that she had been divinely sent to rescue France. Accepted by the king as a last hope, she succeeded in raising the siege of Orleans and in turning the tide of English success. On May 17, 1429, Charles VII was crowned at Rheims.



From a photograph.

DUBOIS' STATUE OF JOAN OF ARC IN FRONT OF THE CATHEDRAL AT RHEIMS, FRANCE.

The appearance of the Maid of Orleans roused in an extraordinary way the patriotism of the French. Little by little the English were driven back, until scarcely more than Normandy, Picardy, and Maine were left in their hands. In 1430 the Maid, unhorsed in a sudden onset, was captured by Philip of Burgundy, who supported the cause of Henry VI. Philip sold her for ten thousand crowns to the English. After imprisonment and an unworthy trial, she was burned as a witch at Rouen (1431). The shame of this deed belongs to the duke of Bedford and to the heartless Charles VII, who raised not

a finger to save the heroine who had made him king of France.

For twenty years Henry VI struggled to retain his hold upon his remaining French possessions, but by 1453 all that he had gained by his brilliant career of conquest was gone without hope of recovery.

173. Attempts of the Nobles to control the King. — At his father's death, in 1422, Henry VI was but an infant, and for twenty years England suffered a continuance of the factional quarrels that had been to a certain degree controlled by Henry IV and Henry V. In 1442 Henry VI took the reins of government into his own hands, but he proved to be wholly incapable of governing and ruled chiefly through favorites. The first favorite was the earl of Suffolk, who negotiated the marriage, unfortunate for England, between Henry and Margaret of Anjou. Later he was charged with the failure of the French war, impeached for treason, and murdered when he tried to escape. The duke of Somerset became the new favorite, and his chief opponent was Richard, duke of York, descended from the second and fourth sons of Edward III. Legally the house of York had a better hereditary title than the house of Lancaster, though probably the question would never have been raised had not Henry VI been a weak king, and Margaret of Anjou a headstrong partisan.

174. Popular Discontent: Cade's Rebellion. — The popular discontent aroused by this selfish strife between the nobles is evident from what is known as Cade's rebellion. This movement was participated in by men of gentle rank as well as yeomen, by merchants, craftsmen, boatmen, and laborers, a few of the clergy, and local officials. It was purely political in character and was in the interest of those who were opposed to the existing government, notably in the interest of the duke of York, who from selfish or other motives had at this time come forward as the representative of the popular cause. More particularly it was a protest against the squandering of the king's revenues, the heavy taxes, due to the wars, the

SCOTLAND
NORTH SEA
IRISH SEA
ENGLISH CHANNEL
FRANCE
ENGLAND and WALES
at the Time of the
War of The Roses.
Lancastrian Estates
York Estates

oppression by the sheriffs, the corruption of officials, the appointment of debased judges, the interference of the nobility in the elections, and the loss of France, which ruined the maritime trade and diminished the export of wool and cloths into Flanders.

Under a captain of Kent, who called himself Mortimer, cousin of the duke of York, but who is better known as Jack Cade, the men of Kent rose in military fashion, as if duly summoned by the constables. They advanced to Blackheath and presented their grievances to the king. On June 18, 1450, a battle was fought at Sevenoaks, where the king's troops were defeated. Henry yielded to the rebels and dismissed certain obnoxious officials. The rebels occupied London, but eventually they were got out of the city and, receiving letters of pardon from the king, dispersed to their homes. Cade was afterward captured and executed.

175. The Wars of the Roses[1]: First Period (1450–1460).—The uprising of Cade was clearly a protest against the Lancastrian government, and in the interest of that party which was opposed to the ministers about Henry VI. Of this party the head was Richard, duke of York, who in 1424, after the death of his uncle, the earl of March, had become heir to the throne. From 1450 to 1453 the rivalry between York and Somerset continued until a series of events occurred which turned the balance in favor of York. In 1453 Guienne, the last territory in France, was lost, and in consequence Somerset was disgraced and imprisoned. Then Henry VI became insane and a regency was necessary. And lastly, the queen, Margaret of Anjou, gave birth to a son, an event which destroyed York's claim to the throne, but made it easier for the friends of the king to accept York's leadership. In 1454 the duke of York was proclaimed by parliament the Protector of the kingdom.

[1] The badge of the house of Lancaster was the red rose, that of the house of York the white rose; hence the name, "Wars of the Roses." The wars were not continuous campaigns, but a series of bloody battles after each of which the victorious side controlled the government.

Unfortunately the king recovered, and Queen Margaret, self-willed and headstrong, determined to drive out the duke of York, who was threatening to dominate at court where she had ruled for years. York was dismissed, Somerset released, and once more the Lancastrians were in full control. Then York determined to gain power by force. Withdrawing to the north, he gathered to himself the earls of Salisbury and Warwick, and attacked the forces of the king and Somerset at St. Albans, in 1455. The Yorkists were successful and Somerset was slain.

Four years passed without actual fighting; part of the time the king was insane and York was again declared Protector, part of the time the king governed alone. Each year the condition of the kingdom became worse, and in 1459 a trivial quarrel between the servants of the opposing factions brought on civil war.

176. The Wars of the Roses: Second Period. The Yorkists claim the Crown.—Thus far the war had been in the main a struggle of one party of the nobility to improve the government of the kingdom and to remove from the side of the king his bad advisers. From this time, however, it became a deliberate attempt on the part of the Yorkists to seize the crown as their right. The latter, as in the rebellion of Jack Cade, found their support in the towns and among the yeomanry. The first battle was fought at Northampton on July 10, 1460, where the Yorkists were victorious. The king was captured, and great numbers of Lancastrian knights and nobles were slain.

The duke of York now made a formal demand for the crown, basing his claim upon his legitimate title as the eldest heir of Edward III, through his mother, Anne Mortimer, sister of that Edmund Mortimer, earl of March, whose claim was set aside when Henry IV became king. The Lancastrians had the recognition of parliament and the right of possession. As Henry VI said, "My father was king; his father also was king; I myself have worn the crown forty years from my cradle; you have all sworn fealty to me as your sovereign and your fathers have done the same to mine. How then can my right be disputed?" The granting of York's claim meant the deposition of Henry

VI and to this extreme the lords were unwilling to go. A compromise was reached whereby it was agreed that Henry should retain the crown for life and that Richard of York should be his heir. But Queen Margaret refused to surrender the rights of her son, and gathered about her the nobles of the north, where lay the strength of the Lancastrian party. Supported by the Percys, the Nevilles, and other border barons, she met the Yorkist forces at Wakefield and won a victory in which Richard of York himself was slain, 1460. The Lancastrians displayed great ferocity, and scores of the Yorkist leaders were killed.

Civil war was now in full swing. The young Edward, earl of March, now duke of York, took up his father's cause and defeated the Lancastrians at Mortimer's Cross on February 2, 1461. Edward of York, though not crowned, proclaimed himself king at a council of lords and the commons of the city. There was no recognition by parliament; Edward based his title solely on hereditary right. From now on the object of the war was to maintain the title thus proclaimed. Edward and the earl of Warwick, gathering their forces, hastened northward and, meeting the Lancastrians at *Towton* (March 29, 1461), fought a fierce battle on a bleak hillside during a blinding snowstorm. The Lancastrians were defeated with such a slaughter of the northern nobles that people said the slain numbered twenty-eight thousand men. The duel was to the death between the two great feudal parties.

177. The Wars of the Roses: Third Period (1461–1471). Struggle of Edward IV to maintain his Crown. — Edward was crowned at London on June 30, 1461, and his title was at last recognized by parliament as just. For four years he and Warwick ruled together — the one as king, the other as the real power behind the throne. Finally, Edward wearied of Warwick's control and determined to be king himself, in fact as well as in name. He thwarted Warwick's plans by a romantic marriage with Elizabeth Woodville, who was not of noble blood, and in 1467 dismissed Warwick from office.

Then Warwick, around whom as "kingmaker" and "the

last of the barons" romance has thrown an undeserved halo, conspired against the king. Allying with himself King Edward's younger brother, he became reconciled to the queen, Margaret of Anjou, and bound himself to aid in restoring Henry VI. Devoid of principle and loyal only to his own

From a photograph.

WARWICK CASTLE.

One of the oldest and stateliest feudal residences in England. There has probably been a feudal castle on the site since Saxon times, but the oldest part of the present castle, the so-called Cæsar's Tower, dates from the Norman period.

ambitions,[1] the "kingmaker" did what many another of the nobility had done at this time — gave his services to the cause which promised the greatest reward. King Edward was taken unawares. Warwick, aided by the gold of Louis XI of France, entered England, and the king, deserted by his followers, was compelled to flee for safety to his brother-in-law, the duke of

[1] Warwick was of royal blood, being cousin to the king; he was not, however, a statesman, but the leader of a faction of the great feudal nobles, and he did not rise above his party.

Burgundy, in October, 1470. Henry VI was restored. But the Lancastrian success lasted for less than six months. In March, 1471, Edward, aided in his turn by the wealth of the duke of Burgundy, returned and marching toward London met Warwick and the Lancastrians at Barnet, and won a decisive victory. To the lasting benefit of England, Warwick was slain, and with him other Lancastrian leaders. Important though the victory was, Edward had still to reckon with Margaret of Anjou, who had just landed at Weymouth, in England. The final engagement took place at *Tewkesbury*, and again Edward won the day. The young Prince of Wales, Margaret's son, was slain, it is said, by Richard, earl of Gloucester, King Edward's brother. Scarcely a Lancastrian noble survived the battle and the vengeance of the Yorkists. Even the old King Henry was put to death in the Tower, probably at the instigation of King Edward himself.

A terrible fate had fallen on the Lancastrian house; not a member remained to thwart the policy of the Yorkist king. Edward now entered upon the last period of his reign, which was in the main peaceful.

178. Edward IV as King. — The Lancastrians had been to a considerable extent dependent on parliament, so that during their reigns parliament had outwardly at least held a strong position. But the Yorkist kings owed nothing to parliament. Edward IV reigned by hereditary right, and he declared that all statutes passed under the Lancastrians were void, because the kings were not rightful kings, though he never took the position of Richard II that the king was above the law. He had an exceptional opportunity to create a strong executive and to reform the government, for he met with almost no opposition. The great lords, who had resisted Richard II and controlled the Lancastrians, no longer existed to oppose the crown; council and parliament consequently lost the position they had had under the Lancastrians — the council became the servant of the king, and parliament meeting but seven times in twenty-five years (1460–1485), raised no voice against the royal policy.

Many of the sessions of parliament were barren sessions, and it has been said that Edward's reign was the first since statute law began in which not a single enactment was made for increasing or securing the liberty of the subject.

In many matters Edward made himself independent of parliament by compelling the wealthy to contribute loans or free gifts called *benevolences*, which with the money obtained from the confiscated Lancastrian estates gave him ample financial means. Yet, notwithstanding the favorable position thus given the king, Edward never became a national leader, using his powers for the benefit of England. He was still a party head, seeking to enrich himself and to place his own and his wife's relatives in places of power. Only in matters of industry and commerce did he seem to consider the welfare of the people.

179. Industry and Commerce.—Popular sympathy had been with Edward generally during the long struggle, and he in return did a great deal to promote the welfare of the burgher and commercial classes. As early as 1463 parliament had forbidden the importation of foreign corn into England, hoping in that way to improve the condition of the farming classes. Later it had prohibited the importation of foreign manufactured goods into England, that an interest in manufacturing might spring up at home. Parliament regulated the manufacture of cloth and it discouraged the exportation of wool, that the weavers might not be deprived of material for their work. On the commercial side, Edward arranged treaties with Denmark, Burgundy, and the Hanse towns,[1] encouraged shipping, built up the navy, and began the restoration of England's

[1] The Hanseatic League was composed of eighty North German and Scandinavian towns, organized about 1300 to protect trade. For three centuries the League was one of the powers of Europe, and the Hanse flag floated over nearly every merchant ship in the northern seas. It established colonies or "factories" in foreign cities, among others in London. Edward's interest in the League is due to the fact that in 1470 it joined with the Flemish and Dutch corporations to persuade Edward's brother-in-law, the duke of Burgundy, to aid the king to recover his throne.

control of the adjoining waters, and in so doing prepared the way for the expansion of England's commerce and sea-power during the reign of the Tudors. To the people at large the king's attention to their industrial and commercial prosperity entirely compensated for the infrequent summons of parliament.

180. Edward's Character and Death. — Edward was a man of energy and ability and of great military sagacity, but he was vicious and cruel, idle and self-indulgent. He had no large ideas of government, and made no effort to improve administration, either central or local. There was less corruption at court than there had been, but in the country districts murders and robberies were prevalent. Edward lived a hard life, and died in 1483, at the early age of forty-one. He left three children, two boys and a girl, a prey to the factions that he himself had scarcely been able to control. The eldest of the children, a boy of thirteen, succeeded him as Edward V, with the late king's brother, Richard of Gloucester, regent during the lad's minority.

181. Usurpation of Richard of Gloucester. — As an ally of Edward IV, Richard of Gloucester had shown himself a strong military leader and a faithful associate in the war against the Lancastrians. But he lived at a time when men were cruel and unscrupulous, ready to resort to acts of vengeance in order to overthrow their enemies and to attain their ambitions.

Richard with all his ability seems to have been in no way different from his brother, or from others who had been guilty of deeds of merciless brutality. He was charged with having murdered the son of Henry VI after the battle of Tewkesbury, and with having stabbed Henry himself in the Tower. Now, as regent, he filled the measure of his evil deeds by slaying the nobles who were faithful to the young king and by putting out of the way the heirs to the throne. Declaring that the marriage between Edward IV and Elizabeth Woodville had been invalid[1] and that their children were consequently illegitimate,

[1] The reasons were these: no banns had been published, the service had been performed in a profane (unconsecrated) place, a private chamber, and

he caused the king and the king's brother, the duke of York, to be seized and imprisoned in the Tower. Parliament proclaimed Richard king on June 25, and on July 6 caused him to be crowned. During the summer or autumn of 1483 the princes[1] were put to death in the Tower. History has laid the crime at the feet of Richard, and there is no good reason to doubt the truth of the verdict. But the facts were not at first known, and Richard was able for a time to retain his hold upon the people.

RICHARD III.

From a portrait — artist unknown — in the National Portrait Gallery, London.

182. Richard III. — Richard was deformed in body, but brilliant in mind. For a year he ruled with no little wisdom, aiming evidently at strengthening his position by making friends with all classes. He concluded a truce with Scotland, entered into amicable arrangements with Burgundy and the papacy, released prisoners, and conciliated influential nobles

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the king had already plighted his troth to Dame Eleanor Butteler, daughter of the earl of Shrewsbury. According to the idea of the time, troth-plight was deemed as binding as a legal marriage.

[1] Edward V, who had been proclaimed king but had not been crowned, and his brother, the duke of York.

by lavish grants and important offices. He continued Edward IV's policy of forbidding foreign imports and strengthening the navy, but the only parliament that he summoned put an end, for the time being, to "benevolences" as a new and dangerous imposition, the exaction of which by Edward IV was not to stand as an example for the future. Nevertheless, "benevolences" appear again in the next reign sanctioned by act of parliament.

Richard, as well as his brother, Edward IV, was a patron of literature. In 1476 Caxton[1] had brought the first printing press to England, and under the patronage of Edward and Richard he printed many old English poems, including an edition of Chaucer. To encourage literature Richard removed the duties on books, and during his reign we have for the first time statutes enrolled in English instead of in French.[2]

But Richard's popularity steadily decreased and his supporters deserted him. Before October, 1484, a conspiracy had been formed against him, under the headship of Henry Tudor, earl of Richmond, who, through his mother, was descended from John of Gaunt. Richard struggled to maintain his position, but misfortune after misfortune came upon him. His son died in 1484, his wife in 1485. To strengthen his position he arranged with his sister-in-law to marry his own niece, Elizabeth of York, sister of the murdered princes, but in June of this year Richmond landed at Milford Haven, and Richard knew that his cause was lost. On *Bosworth Field* he was defeated and slain, and Richmond was proclaimed king as Henry VII. The Wars of the Roses were over, and for England the Middle Ages had ended.

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[1] William Caxton was a Kentishman, who spent thirty years in Flanders as a copyist for Margaret of Burgundy, sister of Edward IV and Richard III. There he learned the art of printing, and upon his return to England, he set up the first English press at Westminster. Caxton also translated many foreign classics into English, and did much to give England a standard of English speech.

[2] The formula by which the king to-day expresses his assent or dissent from a bill is still in French: *Le Roy le veult* or *Le Roy s'advisera.*

183. The Results of the Wars. — The Wars of the Roses had been a duel to the death between the great baronial families. In every case the victor had followed up the successful battle with vindictive cruelty, putting to death all those who fell into his hands. Those who were not killed in battle were, if captured, executed without mercy. After Towton nearly fifty Lancastrians of noble rank were beheaded, and after Tewkesbury many others of the same party suffered a like fate. In 1485 scarcely a Lancastrian of high rank was living, and even among the Yorkists many a family had lost its leading members. This meant that the factional family strife which had existed in one form or another for a century was over, and that feudalism as a political influence in England was dead.

184. Social and Economic Changes: Decline of Villeinage. — During the time that the Wars of the Roses were completing the downfall of feudalism, bondage also was passing away. This was not due to the Black Death, the Peasants' Revolt, or the Wars of the Roses. The last-named conflict, except as it led to the ravaging and impoverishing of the country, probably had but little influence upon the condition of the peasantry. The decay of villeinage was due to the fact that the old methods of agriculture were too wasteful to exist under the new condition of industry and commerce. Even before the Wars of the Roses the old manorial system had almost completely broken down. Some of the villeins had been freed by their lords; others had deserted the manors and had taken service in the army or navy, had attached themselves as retainers to the great barons, or had gone to the towns to become apprentices, to join the crews of merchant ships, or to become beggars and tramps.

Still more important were the changes which had taken place upon the manors themselves. The lords, finding the old forms of cultivation unprofitable, had been giving up the direct control of their lands. They had been letting them out to their bailiffs or others, who paid the lord — now become a landlord — a fixed sum as rent. With this change had gone

another. The villeins, ceasing to do actual work on the lords' land, paid a small amount of money instead; the tenant who had held his land "in villeinage, according to the custom of the manor," now gradually became a "copyholder," holding his land according to the terms written on the court roll of the manor. A copyholder was, therefore, simply a villein who had become a property owner, who knew exactly what were the terms on which he held his land, and who did little or no labor service. There still clung to him some of the incidents of villeinage,[1] but one by one these all dropped away, until to-day copyhold land differs from freehold only in the way it is conveyed or transferred from one person to another.

185. Enclosures. — While the villeins themselves were ceasing to be bondsmen and becoming copyholders, and the tenure by which they held their lands was becoming definite and certain instead of dependent on the will of the lord, an important change was taking place in the arrangement and appearance of the open fields, the ploughed lands in the villages which had hitherto been divided into great unhedged fields, each subdivided into narrow acre strips (p. 45). About 1450 landlords had discovered that *sheep raising* was more profitable than *agriculture*. The open field system was broken up, and the narrow strips were thrown together and *hedged in*, or *enclosed*.[2] The arable land was converted into pasture, and great numbers of the customary tenants or villeins were turned out of their tenements. This process had only just begun in 1485, when Henry of Richmond became king, but it continued during the next century, and though attempts were made to check it on

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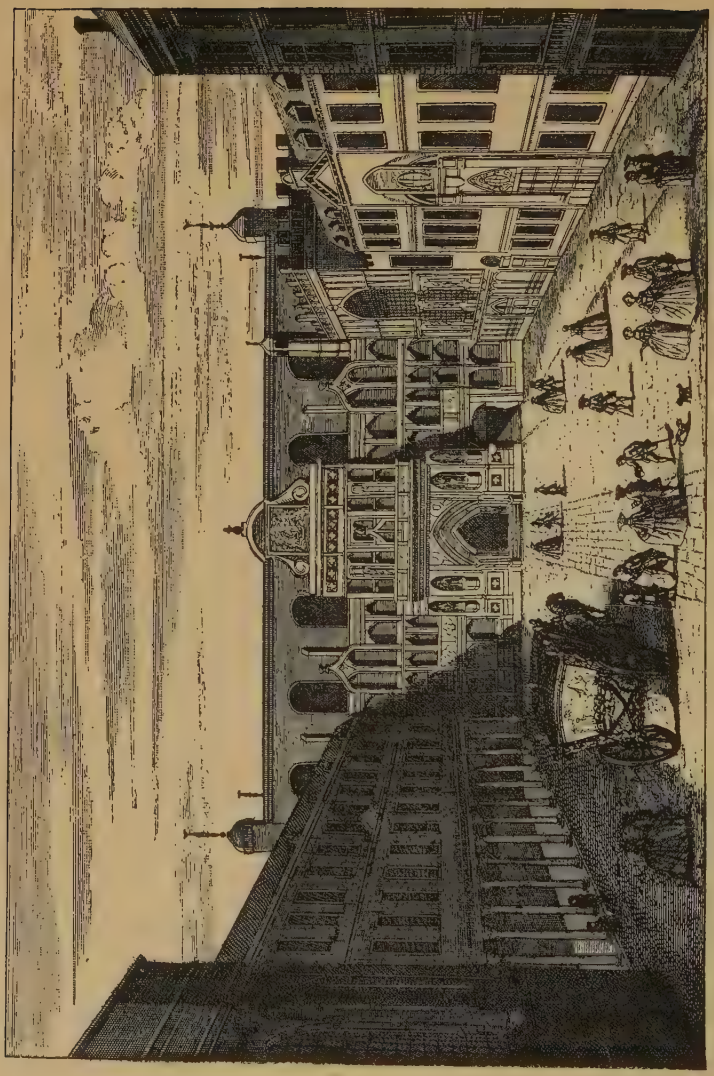
[1] The copyholder continued for many years to bear some of the marks of his villein origin, the most noteworthy of which was the portion of the villein's property that the lord could take away at the villein's death, such, for example, as the best beast or its equivalent in money.

[2] Even before 1450 many lords had begun to enclose their homelands for the purpose of better farming methods. In the midland and north of England, where stock-raising had always been a feature, enclosures had concerned the pasture rather than the arable land.



From an old engraving.

A View of the Guildhall in King Street, London.
Founded in 1411 and restored after the fire of 1666.

account of the great discontent and misery that it caused the evicted tenants, it went on into Elizabeth's reign.

186. The Industrial Revolution: the New Towns. — Until the fifteenth century England had been a land in which agriculture was the main source of wealth, and the landowners, that is, the old feudal lords, were the most prominent people of the kingdom. But the fifteenth century saw the beginning of a great change. As agriculture ceased to be profitable, the feudal lords became land poor, and a new aristocracy arose, whose wealth lay in industrial and commercial undertakings. The growing importance of towns, trade, manufactures, and capital marks the entrance of England on her career as a commercial and industrial state.

During the Middle Ages the centre of the industrial life had been the town; and the town, not the central government, controlled all matters of trade and commerce. In consequence of the law of Richard II, which forbade aliens to buy or sell in England, the towns, under the control of the gilds, developed during the fifteenth century an exceedingly narrow and selfish system of regulating industry and trade. The Wars of the Roses had left the craft gilds free to pursue their courses undisturbed. The latter allowed no one to do business in the towns unless he were a member of one of the crafts, and regulated the details of the business with extraordinary minuteness and care. The severity of the regulations led to the downfall of the gilds. The old towns were outstripped by other towns in which the old gild restrictions did not exist. These new towns, such as Birmingham, Manchester, Leeds, and Sheffield, eventually became the leading cities of the kingdom.

187. Increase of Foreign Trade. — It was foreign trade that broke down the supremacy of the old towns and contributed to the prosperity of the new. Until the middle of the fourteenth century England, as has already been said (pp. 133, 134), had furnished for export only raw materials, such as wool, wool-skins, leather, lead, and tin; and at first the business of exporting these materials lay in the hands of strangers

and not of Englishmen. It was an important step when Englishmen, the *Merchant Staplers*, began to do their own exporting of raw material, chiefly wool, to a staple town on the Continent, such as Calais. It was a still more important step when, in the fifteenth century, England began to work up her own wool, instead of sending it to Flanders and elsewhere to be woven (p. 150). This home industry was bound to injure, and eventually to destroy, the business of the Staplers, because their supply of wool would thenceforth be utilized at home.

In consequence of the new industry, a new body of merchants came into existence, exporting not raw wool, but manufactured cloths, and carrying their goods not to one fixed place, but "venturing" at first wherever they could find a market. These were called the *Merchant Adventurers*, and they boldly competed with foreign merchants in Holland, Spain, Venice, and other lands. At first separate towns sent out their fleets; but later, individuals acting together in the form of stock companies carried on the business, until, at the end of the fifteenth century, half of the English cloths were carried in English vessels. The Merchant Adventurers, by dealing in manufactured woollen cloths instead of raw wool, broke the power of the Merchant Staplers; by doing their own carrying trade, they succeeded before 1500 in wresting the foreign commerce of England from the Hanseatic League in the Baltic and from the Venetians in the Mediterranean. By the reign of Henry VII they were carrying the greater part of England's exports in English vessels, and laying the foundation of England's greatness as a trading and commercial state.

Thus we see that while the Wars of the Roses effected the overthrow of the feudal nobility, they did not prevent a real progress from taking place among the other classes of the kingdom. In the downfall of villeinage, the self-reliance of the towns, the rise of manufacturing, and the growth of commerce, we see the beginnings of a new English society. And the security which Henry VII brought to the English land after the confusion of the Wars of the Roses made permanent the advantages thus gained.

CHAPTER XII.

THE EARLY TUDORS: REFORMATION AND REACTION.

188. The New Age. — The accession of Henry VII marks the beginning of a new era for England. Under the Tudors a more powerful England came into being, stronger within itself and more influential in its relations to the outside world. Instead of the narrow local life of the manors and towns, there gradually appeared the larger life of the nation. Men began to take an interest not merely in the small affairs of their own locality, but in the larger affairs of the state as a whole. A new national pride enhanced the prestige of the monarchs, because in the greatness of their kings men saw the greatness of their state also. The Tudors catered to this growing national feeling, and king and people acting together started England on a career of steady development both at home and abroad.

189. Henry's Claims to the Throne. — On his father's side Henry VII was the grandson of Owen Tudor, a prominent Welsh nobleman of the Lancastrian party; on his mother's side he was a great grandson of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, son of Edward III. He claimed the crown by hereditary right, a claim so unsubstantial that he found it wise to agree to a ratification of his title by parliament whereby the crown was settled on himself and his heirs. But he had other claims than this to the throne. He had conquered at Bosworth Field; and on the field of battle Sir William Stanley had placed Richard's fallen crown on the head of Henry as the only remaining representative of the Lancastrian line. Two months afterward he was crowned in London, at which time parliament passed the bill of ratification. In November the pope issued a

bull in his favor, and the next year he married Elizabeth of York, daughter of Edward IV, thus uniting the York and Lancastrian houses. His marriage undoubtedly greatly strengthened his position, but he always refused to be king merely in right of his wife. But in spite of his many claims his position would have been insecure had he not been able to maintain it.

HENRY VII.

The first of the Tudor kings.
From a portrait — artist unknown — in the National Portrait Gallery, London.

190. Henry's Character. — In character Henry represented the old and the new eras. He favored the church, chose his ministers from among the clergy, and loved ecclesiastical culture and art, as the Chapel of Henry VII in Westminster attests. On the other hand he was shrewd and thrifty, suspicious and cautious, politic and stern. He asked advice of no one, except in great emergencies of his leading ministers. He disliked war, recognized the importance of the industrial and wealth-producing middle class, and knew the value of money and the usefulness of diplomacy. He made it his chief aim to reform and strengthen the government at home, and in foreign relations to give England a place in the councils of Europe.

191. Conspiracies against Henry. — To make his position

more secure, Henry VII had imprisoned the Yorkist heir, Edward, the nephew of Edward IV, but this did not save the king from attempts on the part of the Yorkist leaders to dethrone him. In 1487 Lambert Simnel, impersonating the imprisoned heir, raised a rebellion in Ireland which was supported by the whole Yorkist party, even including Elizabeth Woodville, the

From a photograph.

A Portion of the Chapel of Henry VII, Westminster Abbey.

queen mother and Henry's mother-in-law. But Henry, acting quickly, defeated the insurgents, and capturing Simnel, contemptuously made him a kitchen boy in his palace.

In 1492 a more dangerous conspiracy was set on foot with a remarkable imposter, Perkin Warbeck, personating the younger of the two princes slain in the Tower. Warbeck's identity was accepted by the kings of Scotland and France, and the imposter was aided by Duchess Margaret of Burgundy, whom he claimed as his aunt. Warbeck was finally captured and hanged (1499). Henry retaliated upon Margaret by forbidding (1494) all commerce with the Netherlands, which Margaret controlled, and by driving the Flemish from London.

For the sake of trade the Flemish merchants demanded peace with England, and a new treaty was agreed upon in 1496.[1]

192. Henry's Work. — During the fourteen years of struggle with the pretenders, Henry had never lost sight of the greater needs of the kingdom. 1. He strengthened the authority of the crown by extending the jurisdiction and power of the king's council and by employing parliament largely as a money-granting body. 2. He recognized the value of a well-filled treasury and sought to obtain money by means often of doubtful legitimacy. 3. He made England's name known abroad by favorable foreign alliances. 4. He advanced the general prosperity of the kingdom by encouraging commerce, agriculture, and, to a slight degree, colonization.

193. I. Government. — To understand how the Tudor kings were able to gather so much political power in their hands we must realize that the people at large under Henry VII and his son Henry VIII had little interest in the actual business of government. New learning, new religious ideas, and growing prosperity were attracting their minds more than politics. So long as the Tudors governed fairly well and brought peace and prosperity to England, the people were content to leave the control of government in their hands. In fact, the "people" as such had thus far taken very little part in government and affairs of state.

Henry VII governed, as had kings before him, through two bodies, the Privy Council and parliament, but these bodies, instead of controlling or warring with the king as they had done before, now supported and carried out his policy.

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[1] The authority of the English king over Ireland was at its lowest point at the beginning of Henry's reign, which accounts for Ireland's share in the conspiracies of Simnel and Warbeck. Henry punished Ireland in a manner destined to have a very important influence upon the relations between England and Ireland. He sent over there Sir Edward Poyning, who obtained from the Irish parliament an act known as Poyning's Law. This act provided that no Irish parliament should be summoned or act passed without the previous approval of the English king.

The King and the Privy Council. — Out of the large council of Norman days there had come a small or privy council. The great council was large and unwieldy and a small number of advisers was much easier for the king to use. But the Privy Council had no authority of its own to do anything; its power was the king's power, and it always issued its orders in the king's name. The king's power or prerogative was very great, and it was exercised by many important officials, such as the chancellor, the treasurer, and the admiral, who were king's servants and took their orders only from him. About the only things that the king could not do were: (1) to levy a tax, since all tax bills must originate with the House of Commons, and (2) to issue a statute, which could be done only when king, House of Lords, and House of Commons agreed. In nearly all other respects the running of the affairs of the kingdom was in the king's hands.

Among the most important powers that the king possessed was the judicial. Certain courts, such as the Court of King's Bench and the Court of Common Pleas, were national courts dealing with the common law, but others, the Court of Chancery, the Court of Exchequer, and the Court of Admiralty, were the king's special courts, one dispensing his justice, the second concerning his revenues, the third dealing with crimes or offences at sea. The Privy Council also was a judicial body exercising the king's power to preserve order and uphold the peace. Until this time and for many years afterward the council was an instrument of order and justice, repressing lawlessness and checking anarchy, protecting the weak against the strong, particularly against the feudal lords of the fifteenth century.

The Court of Star Chamber. — In 1487 Henry VII caused parliament to set apart a special court to exercise a part of this judicial authority of the council. This court, known as the Court of Star Chamber, from the room at Westminster where it sat, was to consider such offences of the nobility as keeping large bodies of retainers, intimidating juries, inciting to riot,

and the like. Many a great lord was fined by this court for keeping too large a following about him or for attempting to intimidate the lower courts.[1] This court, composed in part of members of the Privy Council, sat as a separate body until after the reign of Henry VIII, when the council took back the powers granted to it and exercised them itself, sitting on certain days as a Court of Star Chamber and keeping separate records. Later the court became arbitrary and oppressive, but under the Tudors it aroused no popular dislike and performed no illegal functions.

The Court of Requests. — As obtaining justice in the common law courts was slow and expensive, the king set up another court, known as the *Court of Requests* or *Court of Poor Men's Causes.* Justice was given in this court quickly and cheaply and without much legal red tape. It was a court of equity like the Chancery Court; and because supported by the king's authority, it could not be interfered with by powerful men, as were the common law courts.

Thus by his royal prerogative the king not only curtailed the power of the nobility by enforcing the law against them, but he stood as the protector of the common people. Such a cause was bound to make the king popular with the nation.

Relations with Parliament. — In all that concerned the making of laws king and parliament acted together, and in no reigns with which we have thus far dealt were so many and so important statutes passed as in those of Henry VII and his immediate successors. Under Henry VIII parliament enacted 415 public laws and sat for longer periods than ever before. This is a remarkable record. Parliament was certainly not inactive, but it displayed no independence, and the reasons for its subservience to the king may be briefly stated.

[1] On a visit to the earl of Oxford, one of the most devoted adherents of the Lancastrian cause, the king found two long lines of liveried retainers drawn up to receive him. "I thank you for your good cheer, my lord," said Henry, as they parted, "but I may not endure to have my laws broken in my sight. My attorney must speak with you." The earl was glad to escape with a fine of £15,000.

During the Wars of the Roses the clergy had withdrawn from political life and the old nobility had been almost exterminated. So the Commons were left without guidance and support. The king took in part the place formerly occupied by the feudal lords as the leader and guide of the Commons. To a certain extent he was able to influence the elections and to manage the parliaments. He did this partly through his ministers, such as Wolsey and Cromwell under Henry VIII, and partly through the new monied aristocracy that filled the House of Commons with members willing to adopt the policy of the king, because he in turn favored their commercial and trading interests. The Tudor sovereigns listened with infinite patience to the expressions of popular will and rarely went counter to them. England wanted security, wealth, and influence, and these could not be obtained under a nobility always quarrelling with each other and with the king, or under a king who was only the leader of a faction. England needed a strong executive, and this the Tudors gave.

194. II. Henry's Method of obtaining Money. — Though the Tudor kings acted with parliament in the making of laws, they were very independent of parliament in the matter of finances. The accumulation of wealth became almost a mania with Henry VII. He does not appear to have been a miser, for he was liberal at times and loved display; but he valued a large treasure for the independence that it gave the crown and the strength that it gave the state. He accumulated this treasure in several ways: 1. On his accession parliament granted him for life the customs on wine and general merchandise, known as *tonnage* and *poundage*, and several times afterward granted him subsidies of a tenth and a fifteenth. 2. He confiscated the lands and treasure of those who had conspired against him. 3. He engaged in royal commercial ventures that brought him in considerable profit. 4. He made forced exactions from the rich by demanding *benevolences* or loans, which were originally free gifts. We are told that Morton, archbishop of Canterbury, invented the device with "two

prongs," known as Morton's fork, instructing the commissioners to demand loans from the thrifty because they had *saved* money, and from the extravagant because they had money to *spend*. 5. He revived old feudal dues and caused those who infringed the feudal rights of the king to be heavily fined. Little wonder that, at his death, Henry VII left to his son a hoard of gold, estimated at nearly $100,000,000 modern money.

195. III. Foreign Alliances. — Henry's reign opens a new era in England's diplomacy. The kings of France, Spain, Germany, and England were entering into leagues and combinations unknown to the earlier period, and each was seeking to gain advantages at the expense of others and to form alliances which would make his position more secure. Spain, rapidly becoming the leading monarchy in Europe, wished the friendship of England and Germany; so Joanna, the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, was married to Philip, son of Emperor Maximilian of Germany, and her sister, Catherine of Aragon, to Prince Arthur, Henry VII's oldest son (1501). A year later Arthur died, and Henry, in order not to lose the marriage portion and the alliance with Spain, thought of marrying his daughter-in-law himself, but finally Catherine was betrothed to his second son, afterward Henry VIII.[1]

Thus Germany, Spain, and England were in alliance, a matter of pride to England, which was distinctly inferior, both in power and prestige, to the Continental monarchies. Scotland was brought into the alliance in 1502, when Henry's oldest daughter, Margaret, married James IV, of Scotland, whose descendants became kings of England in the seventeenth century.

196. IV. Agriculture, Commerce, and Colonization. — Henry was very careful to favor the wealth-producing classes in his kingdom, and he showed his progressive spirit by his attitude

[1] The special permission of the pope was necessary for this marriage, as the church law did not permit the marriage of a man with his deceased brother's wife.

toward agriculture, commerce, and industry. Regarding agriculture, his policy was a simple one. Desiring to increase the number of small farmers, on the ground that the farmer or yeoman class was a source of strength to the state, he attempted to check the enclosure movement, which was turning arable lands into pasture. But his efforts had no effect, and the destruction of small farms and the enclosing of lands went on for half a century longer.

Through Henry's efforts England made important advances as a commercial state, beginning to carry in her own vessels the staple articles of the kingdom and to traffic freely in foreign ports. In 1489 he gave new life to English shipping by requiring that all wine from Gascony should be imported in vessels owned by English merchants and manned by English sailors. He did all he could to encourage the Merchant Adventurers (p. 178) and gave them a monopoly of the privileges of Continental trade. By means of a series of very important commercial treaties he opened to the merchants of England some of the ports of the Baltic, North Sea, and Mediterranean. Through these means England was able to extend her commerce and to develop her navy.

Henry did not enter the larger field of discovery, and at the time when Portugal and Spain were sending explorers to the southern and western Atlantic he rejected the opportunity to help Columbus discover a new world. He did, however, encourage John Cabot, a Genoese living in Bristol, at that time England's chief maritime city, and granted to him in 1496 such lands as he should discover to the west and north of England and in the Orient, together with a monopoly of the commerce of those regions. Cabot sailed in 1497, and reached the mouth of the St. Lawrence River. He made a second voyage in February, 1498, but upon his first voyage rested England's title to lands in North America. Henry did not do anything to make good the English claims, but recognized Spain's title to all lands south of 41° north latitude. English navigators confined their attention to commerce in the east and to ex-

plorations in the northwest, and for a century England lagged behind Portugal, Spain, and France in the opening of the New World.[1]

197. Henry VIII. — In 1509 Henry VII died, and his son came to the throne as Henry VIII. The new king, called by the people "Bluff King Hal," was but eighteen years old, handsome, full of life and energy, and eager to have a part in every new interest. He was young when the great kings of Scotland, France, and Germany were growing old, rich when other monarchs were impoverished by war, popular when the others had to maintain themselves by standing armies. The immense treasure that his father had accumulated he spent in fêtes, balls, masquerades, theatricals, tournaments, and the like. He was himself the life of the court. He was the most graceful cavalier, the hardiest athlete, the best tennis player, horseman, and lute player. But behind this pleasing exterior there was a strong will and a great love of power.

HENRY VIII.
From a portrait by Holbein, owned by the Barber-Surgeon's Company, London.

[1] Henry's carefully kept records show that in 1497 John Cabot was paid £10 for finding the "new Isle."

198. The Renaissance. — During the period preceding Henry's accession great changes were taking place in the world at large. An intellectual revival called the Renaissance (rebirth) had begun in Italy a century and a half before.[1] As a result, men were breaking away from the intellectual narrowness of the

From a photograph.

MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD (PRONOUNCED "MAWDLEN"). Wolsey, Hampden, and Addison all attended here.

Middle Ages. Instead of unquestioning obedience to authority a new spirit of *inquiry* arose. This new spirit affected first literature and art, then science, then religion, and finally politics. It spread through different parts of Europe at different times and under many forms. The Renaissance was almost over in Italy before it began in England. The artistic side of the new life affected southern Europe, while the scientific and religious aspects wrought revolutions in northern Europe.

The spirit of inquiry brought into use the compass, whereby

[1] The forerunners were Dante (1265–1309), Petrarch (1304–1374), and Boccaccio (1313–1375).

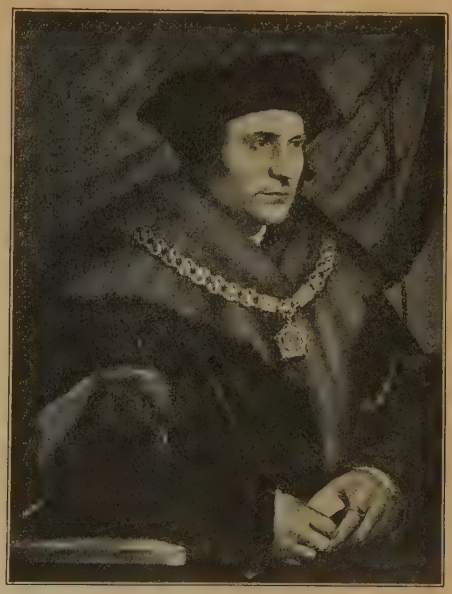
a new world was opened to the knowledge of men. It led to the perfecting of gunpowder, which destroyed the old feudal methods of warfare and rendered useless armor and castles. It brought about the invention of printing and the printing press, whereby the new ideas and the new learning were spread widely, and printed books were substituted for the old manuscripts which had been so laboriously copied. The questioning spirit influenced physics and astronomy and worked momentous changes in men's views regarding religion and the church. In part it was responsible for the Protestant Reformation, and influenced men's thoughts regarding the power of kings and princes and methods of government.

199. The Oxford Reformers. — Early in his reign Henry had become interested in the new learning at Oxford, and had shown himself a friend and patron of the men connected with it. These were John Colet, Desiderius Erasmus, Thomas More, and others. Colet, the first of these, had spent some time in Italy and had studied Greek, not for the sake of reading the classics, but in order to interpret the New Testament. His chief work was the founding of a public school, entirely different from the monastic schools. The founding of St. Paul's school marked a new era in the history of education, for later public schools and grammar schools were modelled after it.

While Colet was doing this great work for education, Erasmus was striking a blow at the old ecclesiastical organization and practice. He was a pupil of Colet's and a friend of More's. It was at More's house that he wrote his famous work, *Praise of Folly*, in which he exposed to ridicule the priests and monks of that day, with their narrow theology, their ignorance, pedantry, and superstition. He translated the New Testament from the original Greek into Latin, with an accuracy never before attained. His work was revolutionary, in that it furnished a new text, free from the errors which were everywhere present in the authorized version, the Vulgate.

The influence of Sir Thomas More was rather political than

educational or religious. In 1516 he issued *A Description of the Republic of Utopia* (Nowhere). The first part of this work is a treatise on the miseries of the people, the second an attack in disguise on the political and social vices of the time. In this ideal state the people chose their prince for life, they chose the royal council, they avoided war; their welfare was the object of all government; they possessed better homes, shorter hours of work, property in common, freedom of speech, intellectual and social happiness. The *Utopia* was first written in Latin and not translated into English until 1551.



Sir Thomas More.

From a portrait by Holbein in the collection of Mr. Edward Huth.

When Holbein came from Basel to England he brought a letter of introduction to Sir Thomas More from Erasmus. Holbein soon became the court painter of Henry VIII.

Henry VIII at first identified himself with this group of scholars, known as the "Oxford Reformers." He saw in their work nothing revolutionary; he believed their purpose to be the purification of the church, not separation from it. He made Colet court preacher, More under-sheriff of London and afterward chancellor, and gave Erasmus a professorship at Cambridge. Both the king and the reformers were at this time devotedly attached to the Orthodox church and had no

sympathy with any one who, like Luther in Germany, was ready to create a schism in the church by separating from it. But Henry VIII was fond of power, ready to enter on wars and to juggle with diplomacy. In later years instead of following the teachings of the Oxford reformers and favoring peace, reform, and toleration, he became hard, cruel, vindictive, intolerant, and full of ingratitude. Thus, the first revival of learning in England came to an early and untimely end.

CARDINAL WOLSEY.

From a portrait — artist unknown — in the National Portrait Gallery, London.

200. Foreign Relations: Cardinal Wolsey. — Even while indulging in the pleasures at court and listening to the Oxford reformers, Henry was planning to take a part in affairs abroad. Just after his accession, he had married Catherine of Aragon, his brother's widow, less from love than from a desire to keep up the alliance with Spain. In 1511 he had joined Spain and the Empire in the Holy League, founded by the pope to check the encroachments of Louis XII of France, who was making himself too strong in Italy. This policy of opposition to France was popular in England because the people had not forgotten the days of Crécy, Poitiers, and Agincourt.

At this time a statesman arose who, though a churchman,

showed greater genius in matters of diplomacy than in religion — Thomas Wolsey. He took up the French war with enthusiasm and planned an invasion of France by way of the Netherlands. The French were defeated in the "Battle of the Spurs" in 1513. This war with France naturally aroused the Scots, the time-honored allies of France. Taking advantage of Henry's absence on the Continent, James IV of Scotland invaded England, but was met by an English army at *Flodden Field*, near the Tweed (1513). James IV was slain, and with him the bravest of the Scottish lords, the flower of Scottish chivalry. For twenty years afterward Scotland remained quiet within its borders.

201. Wolsey's Diplomacy. — In encouraging the hostility of England for France, Ferdinand of Spain and the Emperor Maximilian had been using Henry as a cat's-paw. Therefore Wolsey, who controlled Henry's foreign policy, determined to make a change. He secretly arranged a marriage between Henry's sister, Mary, and Louis XII of France. But Louis died and was succeeded by Francis I. In Spain and the Empire more important changes took place. Ferdinand was succeeded by his grandson Charles, who in 1519 was elected emperor to succeed Maximilian, under the title Charles V. As king of Spain and emperor of the Holy Roman Empire Charles became the most important sovereign in Europe. He was Henry's nephew by marriage, and he and Henry were in hearty accord with the pope in religious matters. Charles, wishing to please the pope, had condemned the German reformer, Martin Luther, at the Diet of Worms (1521). Luther had already denounced the teachings of the church, burned a papal bull of excommunication directed against him, and issued certain addresses to the nobility and people of Germany. The Protestant movement had begun in earnest. Henry condemned the Lutheran teachings in 1522, when he wrote a vigorous pamphlet attacking Luther's doctrines and sent it to the pope, who gave him in return the title of "*Defender of the Faith.*" Then, too, the pope had sanctioned

Henry's marriage with Catherine of Aragon, his brother's widow, and had thereby guaranteed the legitimacy of his one surviving child, Mary, who was betrothed to Charles V.

Wolsey had other reasons for encouraging the alliance. He wanted to be pope himself. From dean of Lincoln he had risen to be archbishop of York and chancellor of England, and finally cardinal and papal legate. It seemed an easy step to the papacy itself, and to insure success, Wolsey supported the cause of the pope against Luther, and the alliance of Henry with Charles V.

At home Wolsey's position was a dangerous one. He was hated by the nobility, who looked upon him as an upstart, and by the people on account of the heavy taxes which he had caused to be levied by parliament, and he had given offence everywhere by his extravagant habits and haughty demeanor. Should he fail to be made pope, only the king's favor would stand between him and utter ruin.

202. The Divorce Question: Wolsey's Fall. — At this time a new scheme took possession of Henry's mind. He wished to get rid of his wife, Catherine of Aragon. Henry had no son and feared that if his daughter Mary died, there might be a struggle for the throne. But a more potent cause lay in the king's passion for one of the maids of honor of his court, Anne Boleyn, an attractive Irish beauty of twenty. Henry's marriage with Catherine had been legalized by the former pope and it would be difficult to have this decree annulled. Henry, however, appealed to the pope, who, after a long delay, authorized a special ecclesiastical court to be held in England to consider the matter. The hearing before the court was begun, but upon appeal from Queen Catherine to the pope the case was removed to Rome. This meant indefinite delay.

Henry was enraged, and thinking that Wolsey was not doing his best, determined on the cardinal's downfall. Before the end of 1529 the blow fell. Wolsey, charged with acting as papal legate in England, contrary to the Statute of Præmunire (p. 143), was convicted and deprived of nearly all his honors

and goods. The archbishopric of York alone was left to him. Later, charged with treason, he was summoned to London, but died on the way, at Leicester Abbey, November 29, 1530. "Ah! Master Kingston," he said upon his deathbed to the lieutenant of the Tower, "if I had served God as diligently as I have done the king, He would not have given me over in my gray hairs."

203. The Rise and Policy of Thomas Cromwell. — Henry had failed thus far in his dealings with Rome, but now he began to listen to a new adviser, Thomas Cromwell. Cromwell was a layman of low birth, a money lender and solicitor, a cool, hard-headed business man, but a bold and original statesman, who employed in his service commoners as pliant, adroit, and exact in business as he was himself, and as unscrupulous, overbearing, and unpopular. He pointed out to the king the needlessness of papal decrees and the desirability of throwing off the papal yoke. He showed how this could be done by acts of parliament, which he himself could draw up and which parliament would certainly pass. Henry was not willing to proceed to extremes at first, but he wished to force the pope to come to a decision on the divorce question; or, if that were impossible, he was willing to prepare the way for a final separation from Rome. In this determination Henry was influenced not only by his desire to marry Anne Boleyn, but also by his desire to check the papal drain on England's wealth and by a greedy longing for the lands of ecclesiastics and monasteries. He was determined also to increase his power over the church in England.

204. The Separation from Rome. — In 1532 the archbishop of Canterbury died, and in his place Henry appointed Thomas Cranmer, a scholar and theologian of Cambridge, and a churchman likely to be useful to the king. In the same year Cromwell obtained from parliament an act abolishing the payment to the pope of *annates*, or first-year revenues from ecclesiastical officers. This measure was not an attack on the church, but an effort to control an abuse which tended, as the statute said,

"to the impoverishment of the realm." The pope remained unmoved, and the next year (1533) parliament passed another act forbidding all appeals to Rome from the archbishop's court in England, and vesting all power "to render and yield justice" in the king himself. Then Henry, without waiting longer for a decision from the pope, cut the knot of controversy by marrying Anne Boleyn and bade Cranmer, the new archbishop, try the case in his archiepiscopal court. The court, as was to have been expected, declared Henry's former marriage illegal, and immediately Anne Boleyn was proclaimed queen. In September, 1533, Anne gave birth to a daughter, Elizabeth, whom parliament the next year declared heir to the throne.

Meanwhile the pope had decided the divorce question in favor of Catherine, and threatened the king with excommunication if he did not take her back as queen. Henry therefore proceeded to destroy the authority of the pope in England by removing the English church from under the jurisdiction of Rome and by subjecting it entirely to his authority. By a series of acts parliament carried out the will of the king, finally declaring, in the famous *Act of Supremacy*, that the king, his heirs and successors should "be reputed the only supreme head in earth of the church of England." The separation from Rome was complete, the authority of the pope was thrown off, and the king's English church established. At its head was the king, with power to receive revenues, make appointments, and confirm all rules and ordinances adopted by the church in its convocation.

The faith of the church remained unchanged. By an act of 1539, known as the *Six Articles Act*, which may be called the first act for religious uniformity, parliament established all the essential tenets of the church: transubstantiation, communion in one kind, celibacy of the clergy, vows, private masses, and auricular confession. No one could maintain anything contrary to the royal instructions. Even the Bible in English was condemned, and women and wage-earners reading it were on the third offence liable to be burned. What Henry

had done was to break up the unity of the church of Rome, not to reform its practice or to alter its creed.

205. Henry's Persecutions: Execution of Anne Boleyn. — These acts were received without serious protest in England; only a few spoke their minds. Against such, Henry and Cromwell proceeded without mercy. The Carthusian friars had been especially blunt in their comments on the king's marriage, so ten of their monks were hanged. Next, Sir Thomas More, finest of all the heroes of the time, and the noble John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, were summoned before a court at Lambeth, the archbishop's palace in London. On their refusing to declare the marriage with Catherine illegal and the Princess Mary illegitimate, they were thrown into prison and in 1535 were executed and their heads fastened on London Bridge. Even greater savagery was shown the next year (1536). Henry was confronted by many dangers: Ireland was in revolt, and the pope had prepared a bull of deposition, which Charles V, the nephew of Catherine, was to execute. As it happened the bull was never sent, for at this juncture Catherine died and Charles V had no good excuse for an attack upon England. But Henry felt the uncertainty of the succession, as he had no male heir. He basely turned on Anne Boleyn and charged her with unfaithfulness and conspiracy. After a brutal and revolting trial, during which Henry continued his revellings, Anne Boleyn was convicted and beheaded. Twelve days after, the king married Jane Seymour. Cranmer declared the marriage with Anne illegal and her daughter Elizabeth illegitimate, and the servile parliament passed a new act settling the succession upon the heirs of the new queen.

Henry did not stop here. In 1535 he had sent commissioners to inquire into the condition of the monasteries, and while thus preparing for their confiscation drew up the Ten Articles (1536) condemning many of the time-honored practices of the church as superstitious and idolatrous.

206. The Pilgrimage of Grace. — These acts roused the nobles of the north, and led to a remarkable uprising. The "Pilgrim-

age of Grace" was at bottom a revolt of the northern counties, where a spirit of independence and of devotion to the old forms and ceremonies still existed. The nobles of the north hated the low-born "varlet," Cromwell, and the people there resented the attack on the monasteries and the religious innovations. Several revolts broke out, notably in Lincoln-

From a photograph.

DRYBURGH ABBEY, IN SOUTHERN SCOTLAND.
The burial place of Sir Walter Scott.

shire and Yorkshire, but the king crushed them with great ferocity. Seventy-four persons were executed, including all the abbots of the great monastic establishments of the north.

This event not only weakened the supporters of the papal cause, but prepared the way for the final incorporation of the northern counties — Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, Durham, and York — into England. Henry II had prevented them from becoming a part of Scotland, but since

his time "the border" had been outside the regular administration of the kingdom, a lawless frontier, where feudal barons were privileged and powerful, and depredations and petty wars were of frequent occurrence. Henry did not himself incorporate the counties, but made permanent the special

From a photograph.

TINTERN ABBEY, ON THE WYE.

One of the monasteries dissolved by Henry VIII. It is now the property of the Crown.

council system that had prevailed there for a century. This council, which he reorganized as the Council of the North, had extensive criminal jurisdiction in these counties.

207. Suppression of the Monasteries. — The rebellion in the north checked for the moment Henry's attacks on the monasteries, but it probably in the end rendered the suppression of them more complete. As early as 1534 Cromwell had begun to break up the houses of the friars, declaring that they were centres of hostility to the king. The monasteries were charged with being useless organizations, houses of idleness and cor-

ruption, of licentious and frivolous life; but the evidence is far from sufficient to prove a condition worse than had been the case two centuries before. The condition of the monasteries was not the real reason influencing Cromwell and the king to destroy them. They were deemed specially hostile to the royal policy of separation from Rome, and likely to become, if allowed to remain, centres of antagonism to the royal supremacy over the church. Then, too, they possessed great wealth, and immense estates of land, and to many men besides the king, land in the hands of the church was deemed unproductive to the nation.

Cromwell's "visitation" of 1535, conducted by cold-blooded and harsh men of Cromwell's own stamp, was neither thorough nor just. The monasteries were doomed beforehand. Their wealth was their destruction. In 1536 parliament passed an act dissolving the smaller monasteries with a yearly income of less than £200, and turned them over to the king to do with as he pleased. By this act three hundred and seventy-six houses were dissolved, two thousand monks and nuns dispossessed, and altogether some ten thousand people turned out of homes or employment.

The problem of breaking up the larger monasteries remained to be faced. The Pilgrimage of Grace aided the king's cause, for Henry made it a pretext for harsh measures. In 1538 and the year that followed, so much pressure was brought to bear on the larger monastic houses that one hundred and fifty of them surrendered. Parliament, by an act of approval, gave them to the king. In 1540 one hundred more were seized and dismantled.

In the course of the attack many priors and abbots, refusing to accept the king's terms, were executed; while all together it is estimated that eight thousand religious persons were driven out and eighty thousand others deprived of their means of support. Though most of the lands were given away as bribes to favorites and others whom the king wished to bind to himself, something like $75,000,000 (modern value) accrued to the king

from lands, plate, and other spoils. Forty thousand families are said to have profited by these gifts, and upon these foundations a new nobility arose, whose interest it was to support the king's policy.

208. The Fall of Cromwell. — Valuable as Cromwell was to the king, he failed to please his master in two particulars. First, he inclined toward Protestantism, an attitude which Henry did not like. Secondly, he was a failure as a foreign minister, for his conduct of foreign affairs from 1535 to 1540 had turned out badly everywhere, and though the king was to no small extent responsible for the failure, Cromwell was blamed by his master for the results.[1] In 1540 he was abandoned by the king, and the nobility, who hated him, wreaked their vengeance upon him. He was beheaded on Tower Hill, and from that time to his own death Henry reigned without a minister.

209. Relations with Scotland, Wales, and Ireland. — The long standing rivalry between England and France was greatly increased by the religious controversy, for Francis I supported the papal cause while Henry, with greater determination, opposed it. Each attempted at this juncture to control Scotland. There the influence of England, due to the marriage of Henry's sister Margaret to James IV, had been checked by the later marriage of Margaret's son, James V, to Mary of Guise, daughter of the duke of Guise, the most powerful enemy of Protestantism in France. Henry tried to bully Scotland, and in 1542 defeated James V at Solway Moss. He also demanded the betrothal of the infant Mary, daughter of James V, to his five-year-old son, Edward VI, and insisted that the Scottish prin-

[1] Cromwell, favoring Protestantism, had wished the king to enter into an alliance with the German Protestant princes of the Smalkald League, a league formed in 1531 to support Protestantism against the attacks of pope and emperor. To that end he arranged a marriage between Henry and Anne of Cleves, daughter of the duke whose territory controlled the river Rhine. Anne did not please the king, and Henry divorced her on the ground that the marriage had been "extorted under compulsion by external causes." Anne took the divorce philosophically and settled down in England with a liberal pension.

THE WIVES OF HENRY VIII.

(See footnote on opposite page.)

cess be brought up in England. But the Scots did not like Henry's methods, and even while carrying on negotiations with him were coöperating with France to thwart the designs of England.

In Wales and Ireland Henry was more successful. In 1536 he had completed the subjection of Wales, reorganized its shires, and admitted twenty-seven members from Wales into parliament. A few years later he caused parliament to place the jurisdiction there under a council known as the Council of Wales, similar to the Council for the North.

Ireland had given him a great deal of trouble, for the chiefs there were constantly ready to help France or Scotland. In 1542 Henry raised Ireland to the rank of a kingdom and assumed the title "King of Ireland," though he cannot be said to have brought the island much nearer to a union with the English crown than it had been before.

210. Revenues and Coinage. — In his campaigns Henry had been constantly in need of money. He was extravagant, but this was not the only cause for the scarcity. The royal revenue had declined. The subsidies, which were levied upon the value of lands and movables after the ancient fashion, had not increased as the wealth of the kingdom increased from the flourishing trade and commerce, and Henry did not, in

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On the opposite page are portraits of Henry's six wives.

No. 1, in the upper left-hand corner, is Catherine of Aragon, from a portrait (artist unknown) in the National Portrait Gallery, London. Married 1509; deserted 1531; died 1536.

No. 2, in the upper right-hand corner, is Anne Boleyn, from a portrait (artist unknown) in the National Portrait Gallery, London. Married 1533; beheaded 1536.

No. 3 is Jane Seymour, from a portrait by Holbein in the collection of the Duke of Bedford. Married 1536; died 1537.

No. 4, Anne of Cleves, from a portrait (artist unknown) in St. John's College, Oxford. Married February, 1540; divorced July, 1540.

No. 5, Catherine Howard, from a portrait (School of Holbein) in the National Portrait Gallery, London. Married 1540; executed 1542.

No. 6, Catherine Parr, from a portrait (artist unknown) in Lambeth Palace. Married 1543, survived Henry.

reality, receive a revenue at all proportionate to the taxing power of the kingdom.

Thus, Henry had to resort to exceptional though perhaps not strictly illegal ways of raising money. He began to tamper with the coinage, first by mixing more and more alloy with the gold and silver, and later, by reducing the size of the coin. The effects of this debasing of the coinage were very disastrous to all classes. Prices rose rapidly in England, to the disadvantage of the landowning and agricultural classes, and commerce was injured, because foreigners would not take English coins. This blind and criminal policy also caused great distress among the laboring classes.

From a painting.

THOMAS HOWARD, THIRD DUKE OF NORFOLK.

He became Lord High Treasurer in 1522. He was the uncle of Catherine Howard, fifth wife of Henry VIII.

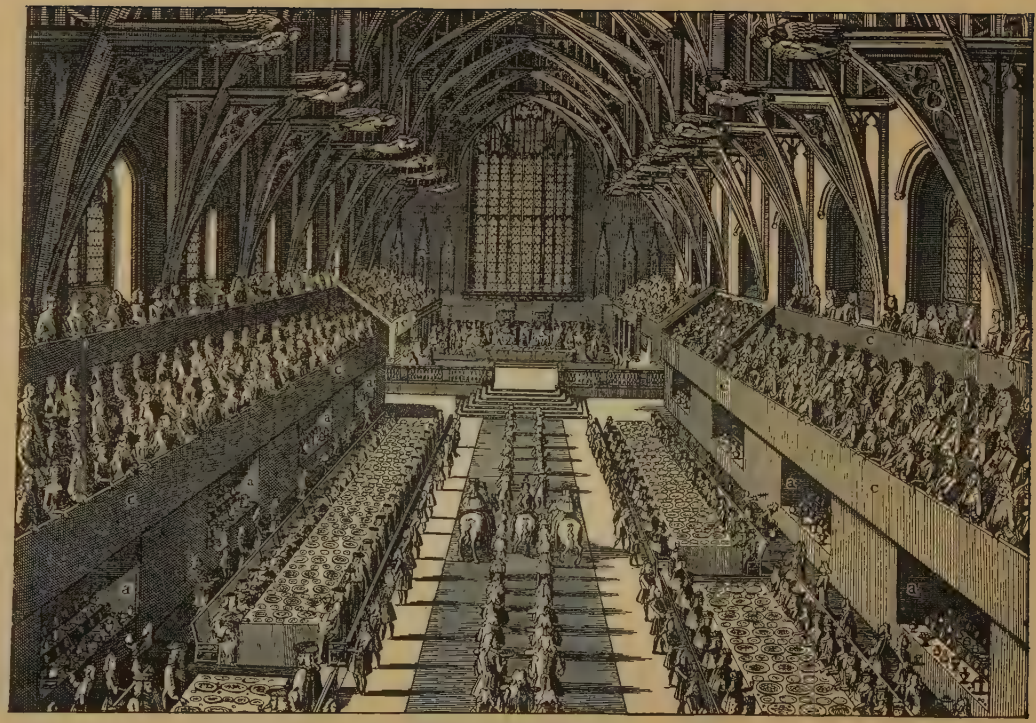
211. The Close of Henry's Reign.— Henry accomplished much for England, raising the kingdom to a position of international importance, striking down the last of the old nobility, and giving power to new men who came from the middle classes. Then, too, he was "the majestic lord who broke the bonds of Rome." The separation of the English church from the church of Rome was of material benefit to the English state and increased the feeling of na-

tional unity among the people. But the results of Henry's work were beneficial only in the future; the immediate consequences of his reign were disastrous. At home he had alienated the English people, emptied the royal treasury, neglected the welfare of the mass of his subjects, and encouraged bribery and corruption among officials and ministers. Abroad he had broken with almost every ally. The pope, Francis I, and Charles V were hostile to him; by his brutal methods Scotland had been driven into closer relations with France, and conspiracies were fomenting in Ireland. The favorable conditions that had accompanied his accession to the throne no longer existed, when, in 1547, Henry died and passed on the government of the kingdom to his son, Edward VI, a boy but ten years of age.

EDWARD VI.

From a portrait — School of Holbein — in the National Portrait Gallery, London.

212. The Succession: Protector Somerset. — Henry had settled the succession in a will sanctioned by act of parliament. The throne was left first to Edward and his heirs; then to his elder sister, Mary, the daughter of Catherine of Aragon, and her heirs; and then to Elizabeth, the daughter of Anne Boleyn. A body of executors was appointed also to govern during the



WESTMINSTER HALL.

(See footnote on p. 207.)

minority of Edward, but this provision of the will was set aside and the young king's uncle, Edward Seymour, later duke of Somerset, became *Protector.*[1]

As compared with Henry VIII, Somerset was a moderate and conciliatory statesman, who honestly desired to bring peace to the kingdom that had been excited and stirred by Henry's excesses. He refused to continue Henry's persecutions for heresy and treason, and made few changes in the ecclesiastical organization. In matters of doctrine he was equally tolerant. The First Book of Common Prayer, compiled in English by Cranmer, recognized the doctrine of transubstantiation, allowed prayers for the dead, authorized auricular confession, and made obligatory the practice of fasting during Lent. But on the other hand, some important modifications were made. Latin was abolished in the church service, the heresy and treason laws and the Six Articles Act were repealed, all chantries,

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[1] There were two families connected by marriage with the king who were rivals for royal favor — the Howards and the Seymours. The Howards were of more honorable lineage, leaders of the old nobility, and upholders of the old faith; the Seymours were newer men and friends of the Protestant movement. Victory lay eventually with the Seymour family, who were fortunate in that the young king was their kinsman by blood, the son of Jane Seymour, and in having the friendship of Catherine Parr, who, like the Seymours, had Protestant sympathies. The Howards were unfortunate in that two members of their family, Anne Boleyn and Catherine Howard, had both been beheaded at the command of the king, Henry VIII.

The illustration on the opposite page is taken from an old print, bearing the legend:

> "A Prospect of the Inside of Westminster Hall, Shewing how the King and Queen with the Nobility and Others did sit at Dinner on the Day of the Coronation. Also the manner of the Champions performing the Ceremony of Challenge whilst the King and Others were at Dinner."

Westminster Hall, originally built by William Rufus in the eleventh century, is the most famous single building in England so far as historical associations are concerned. In it Parliament has sat, many famous trials have been heard, and here the royal courts of justice were held from 1507 till 1820. It now serves as the entrance hall to the Houses of Parliament.

gilds, and fraternities of a religious character were dissolved, and the giving of the wine as well as the bread to the laity in the sacrament was allowed. In 1548 parliament passed an act allowing priests to marry, and another imposing penalties on priests who refused to use the Book of Common Prayer. In these changes too little attention was paid to the sentiments and sympathies of the people. It was still reform by act of parliament.

In constitutional and social matters Somerset was no less liberal. He believed in the full recognition of the powers of parliament and refused to interfere in elections. He allowed freedom of speech and debate, and it is significant that the journals of the lower house begin with his period of government. He favored the cause of the people against the wealthy landlords. It is commonly said the religious innovations roused the people of England to revolt in 1548 and 1549, and it is true that worshippers familiar with the time-honored practices resented the destruction of images, the breaking of stained glass windows, and the introduction of the English prayer book. But in reality the reasons for rebellion lay deeper than this, and were of an economic, and not a religious, character.

213. Economic Unrest: Kett's Uprising. — Since the accession of Henry VII, the enclosure movement, which we have already noticed, had taken on a new form. While the old manorial system was breaking down and trade was growing, thousands of acres were passing out of the hands of the old nobility into the hands of newer men, merchants and members of the new nobility, who were getting profit out of them, without regard to the condition of the people upon them. The new landlords oppressed the tenantry, evicted those who failed to pay their rents, enlarged their estates by buying up new lands, and enclosed the commons and arable fields without any consideration for those who tilled the soil for a living. In consequence rents rose, prices trebled, and misery increased.

Wolsey and Sir Thomas More had seen the evils wrought by

the new landlords and had sought to remedy them. But after Wolsey's death, Henry VIII had taken no interest in the matter, and by his distribution of the monastic lands had only made the trouble worse. Somerset was fully alive to the evils, and in 1548 sent out a commission to investigate the question of enclosures and the possible restoration of agriculture. For the same purpose he endeavored to carry acts through parliament. But he was opposed by the wealthy landowners, and nearly every measure failed because the leaders of that body were themselves enclosers and thwarted Somerset's plans.

After the failure of parliament to act, the popular discontent, which had been long smouldering, became active. Starting in the southwest, the rebellion spread through the southern and western counties. Hedges and palings were torn down, ditches filled up, and parks and commons laid open. Kett, a blacksmith of Norfolk, with many followers, seized Norwich and established a "commonwealth." But the insurrection was put down with great severity, and Kett was hanged. The gentry were still too strong for the commoners.

214. Relations with Scotland: Fall of Somerset. — The opposition to Somerset in the Privy Council, due to his defence of the popular cause, his ambition, and eagerness for wealth and popularity, was increased by the outcome of his dealings with Scotland. He tried to force the marriage between Edward VI and Mary Queen of Scots, according to the agreement of 1543, but France sent aid to Scotland, and in 1548 Mary sailed for France and was betrothed to the Dauphin, afterward Francis II. France declared war, and Scotland, having fallen under the control of the Catholic party, was lost, for the time being, to England.

Somerset was doomed; his policy had not succeeded, and his enemies in the council determined to depose him. They charged him with a rash invasion of Scotland, with bringing on war with France, and above all, with encouraging social disturbance and insurrection. In general, they charged his government with failure, ignoring the fact that failure had

been due not to Somerset, but to the social troubles in England, for which the members of the council, the leaders in parliament, and the moneyed class generally were very largely responsible. But there were other and more legitimate charges against Somerset. He had been arbitrary and overbearing, he had seized church lands, had spent money ostentatiously in erecting Somerset House, and had given offices to personal friends and neglected the friends of his colleagues.

In October, 1549, he was committed to the Tower, and his place not as Protector, but as leader in the council, was taken by his chief enemy, John Dudley, earl of Warwick, later duke of Northumberland.

215. The Second Period of the Reign of Edward VI: Warwick's Tyranny. — The moderation of Somerset now gave way to the tyranny of Warwick. "If the Protector had lashed the Catholics with whips, Warwick chastised them with scorpions." The contrast is a striking one, for in nearly every point was Somerset's policy reversed. Warwick got rid of all Romanists from the council. He deposed from their sees bishops of the old faith. He began a systematic persecution of Princess Mary, who adhered to the Roman church, deprived her of the privilege of hearing private mass, and forced on her the Book of Common Prayer. With the concurrence of Archbishop Cranmer, he began executions for heresy. In 1552 a Second Book of Common Prayer was issued. The new prayer book was distinctly Protestant in character; a new act of uniformity (see p. 196) imposed severe penalties not only on priests who refused to use the new prayer book, but on people who refused to attend the service. The next year Forty-two Articles of Faith were issued, defining the doctrines of the church.

In political matters Warwick aimed to be supreme. He packed the council with his adherents and packed parliament by interfering in elections and creating new boroughs. In social matters he upheld the interests of the landowners. Under his influence, parliament reversed the Protector's policy,

dropping the agricultural commission and passing laws that encouraged rather than discouraged the enclosing of land. Warwick did nothing to alleviate the burdens that distressed the people. By his acts he encouraged bribery, sale of offices, and misuse of funds, and continued the debasement of the currency, which Somerset had forbidden, increasing the alloy, and reducing the value of the shilling coined by Henry VIII first to ninepence and afterward to sixpence. The coinage of England reached its lowest point under Edward VI. The miseries of the people were intense.

LADY JANE GREY.

From a portrait by de Heere in the National Portrait Gallery, London.

216. Lady Jane Grey. — Edward VI died on July 7, 1553. By the terms of Henry's will the succession was to go to the Princess Mary; but Warwick had worked on the young king, persuading him, in the interest of Protestantism, to bequeath the crown to Lady Jane Grey, the wife of Guildford Dudley, Warwick's son. Lady Jane was the granddaughter of Henry VIII's sister Mary, who, after the death of her first husband, Louis XII, had returned to England and married Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk. By means of Lady Jane's accession Warwick hoped to retain power.

But the plot in favor of Lady Jane Grey failed in every particular. In the first place, Edward's will was invalid, not having been sanctioned by parliament; in the second place,

England would have no more of Warwick. The ill-fated claimant, Lady Jane, a girl of fifteen, lent herself most unwillingly to the scheme. She was proclaimed queen of England three days after Edward's death; but her reign lasted only eleven days. The nation rallied to the support of the rightful heir. Warwick was seized and executed in 1553, and disclosed the hollowness of his entire support of Protestantism by recanting on the scaffold and declaring that the Protestant cause was a sham. The tide of popular enthusiasm which bore Mary to the throne testified to the hatred which all right-minded men had conceived for the heartless, time-serving policy of this basest and most unscrupulous of English ministers.

Queen Mary Tudor.
From a portrait by Corvus in the National Portrait Gallery, London.

217. The Catholic Reaction, First Period: Moderation (1553). — Mary came to the throne in 1553, and began immediately to undo the work of the previous reign. She released the bishops and others imprisoned in the Tower, sent Cranmer to prison, and drove others of the Protestant clergy to the Continent. With Bishop Gardiner as her ally, she began to restore the old forms and dogmas. She set aside the prayer book of Edward VI and introduced again the Latin mass. A parliament sum-

moned in October, 1553, was composed of members elected under pressure from the crown, and consequently ready to sanction all the queen's acts. This body declared Mary legitimate, thus annulling all the acts passed during the reign of Henry VIII affecting the divorce of Catherine of Aragon, Mary's mother. It repealed at one stroke nine acts passed under Edward VI, thus restoring the church, its doctrine and service, to the position which it had occupied at the death of Henry VIII.

In these changes the English people readily acquiesced. Probably, thus far, the majority were in very general accord with the policy of the government, and greeted the return to the old forms with satisfaction. Had Mary stopped here, all might have been well; but her own inclinations, the advice of Charles V, the urging of the pope, demanded that the work not only of Edward VI, but of Henry VIII also, be undone, and that England return to the position it had occupied before the separation from Rome.

218. Catholic Reaction, Second Period: the Spanish Marriage. — But before Mary could carry out the details of her policy, she had to meet the important question of her own marriage. Charles V proposed his son, Philip II, as her husband; and Philip, thinking to control England for Catholicism and to gain possession of its revenues for himself, indicated his willingness to marry the queen, although she was ten years his senior. Notwithstanding the fact that parliament asked her to choose an English husband, Mary disregarded its wishes, and dissolved that body as a rebuke for its interference. Feeling the need of securing her throne by putting out of the way all enemies and claimants, she caused Lady Jane Grey and her husband, Guildford Dudley, to be executed. The era of moderation was passed; Princess Elizabeth herself was saved from the block only because the queen and the Catholic party dared not put her to death.

In 1554 Mary married Philip, and after the marriage, summoned a new and more subservient parliament in order to com-

plete the work of reaction. This parliament forbade the marriage of priests, revived the acts punishing heretics, and then in one great act of repeal, abolished eighteen statutes of Henry VIII, thus restoring the church to its original position. It authorized entire submission to Rome, but stubbornly refused to restore the lands which had been taken from the monasteries and abbeys. The pope, glad of the return of England to the fold of the church, waived the matter of the church lands, and sent Cardinal Reginald Pole as papal legate to England. It was perhaps the happiest day of Mary's life when she and Philip, and both houses of Parliament, knelt before the legate, and received from him absolution and a complete restoration "to the communion of the holy church."

219. Catholic Reaction, Third Period: Persecutions. — The year 1554 marks the height of the reaction as far as the outward act of submission was concerned. Yet in reality the reaction was far from complete. The lands were not restored, parliament refused to revive the payment of annates to the pope (p. 195), and the Statutes of Præmunire remained in force, as before. Protestantism had made many converts in England and their faith could not be undone by words of submission or acts of parliament. Therefore, Mary and her chancellor, Gardiner, in 1555, began the work of persecution for heresy. It is estimated that in all nearly three hundred persons were burned at the stake.[1]

The effect of this cruel policy was exactly the reverse of what Mary had intended it should be. The mass of the people, admiring the courage of the martyrs, viewed the persecution with increasing horror. Thousands who had been loyal to the

[1] First John Rogers was sent to the stake (February, 1555) for denying the doctrine of transubstantiation; then Bishop Hooper; and finally, in November, Latimer and Ridley were burnt at Oxford. The next year Cranmer, whom Mary especially hated because he had sanctioned the divorce of her mother from Henry VIII, suffered a like fate. The majority of the executions were in Kent, in the neighborhood of the archbishopric of Canterbury. Because of the frequency and openness of these executions in this short reign the queen has been called "The Bloody Mary."

old faith were driven into a position of hostility to the government and the Roman party, and gradually southern England became Protestant.

220. Relations with France: Loss of Calais.—The discontent thus aroused found outward expression not in England, where men had resolved to wait for Mary's death, but in France, where a body of exiles had been conspiring for several years against Philip and Mary. In 1557, stirred by conspiracies and urged on by Charles V and Philip, Mary declared war against France. The one great result of the war was the loss of Calais, which was seized by the duke of Guise in January of the next year. The capture of this town, England's "Staple town" on the Continent, came as a terrible shock to the English and greatly increased Mary's unpopularity. In a military sense Calais was regarded as of vital importance to England in guarding her from invasion; in a commercial sense it was deemed the key to the Continental trade. Little wonder that when it fell, men foresaw military and commercial ruin for England; and that Mary, in horror, cried out that after her death Calais would be found graven on her heart.

In fact, however, the loss of Calais was a gain to England. It severed the last connection of the island kingdom with the Continent, and compelled Englishmen to give up plans of conquest in France and of political interference in foreign affairs. It rendered an army less important than a navy. It completed the downfall of the Merchant Staplers, and gave a new impetus to the Merchant Adventurers, who were already trading in all parts of the world and cared no more for Calais than for any other Continental town. With the loss of Calais, England was thrown back upon her own resources; and how splendidly she employed those resources in developing a navy, a native commerce, and a colonial empire, the history of the ensuing century shows.

221. Accession of Elizabeth.—Mary's last days were full of misery. Deserted by her husband, deprived of the advice of her best ally, Cardinal Pole, who had been removed by the

pope for heresy, hated by her people, aware that her policy had failed, and that Elizabeth, who was to succeed her, would pursue a course different from her own, she nevertheless faced death with true Tudor courage. On November 17, 1558, the end came. Parliament, sitting at the time, immediately proclaimed Elizabeth queen, and the people of London, with demonstrations of joy, welcomed her to the throne.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE AGE OF ELIZABETH: ENGLAND BECOMES A PROTESTANT POWER OF THE FIRST RANK.

222. The Queen. — Elizabeth was twenty-five years old when she became queen. She was well educated, shrewd, far sighted, and tactful, but she was lacking in sentiment, tenderness, and affection. Trained in the new learning of the court of Henry VIII, she spoke several modern languages and had a reading knowledge of Latin and Greek. But the dangers through which she had passed in the reigns of her brother and sister had made her wary and cautious. Like her grandfather Henry VII, she was thrifty, and her economies, in contrast with the extravagances and excesses of her predecessors, increased her popularity with her people. To save the expense of war she used all her shrewdness and tact to keep at peace during the early years of her reign. In an age of bigotry she was without fanaticism and did not sympathize with the extreme parties of any faith. The refusal of the Roman Catholics to acknowledge her legitimacy gave her Protestant leanings, yet her persecutions of the Catholics were due not to religious hatred, but to a desire to protect the state. She understood the needs of the age and did not, like her sister Mary, endeavor to run counter to the aspirations of her own people. Her greatest weakness was indecision, and her frequent changes of mind were a source of great perplexity to her ministers. She held in extreme veneration the sanctity of the crowned head and she hated rebels and all rebellions, yet she loved popularity and desired to do what was best for the kingdom and the people. These two impulses often came into conflict, and we find her frequently hesitating between two courses of action. But she had strong ministers whose

firmness of purpose generally guided her safely through the many problems that beset her.

QUEEN ELIZABETH.

After an engraving by C. van de Passe. The dress is that in which she is said to have attended the thanksgiving service at St. Paul's after the defeat of the Armada.

223. Europe at Elizabeth's Accession. — The age of Elizabeth is one of the most important periods not only in English history but in the history of Europe, also. The Reformation

had thrown all the states of central and western Europe into religious and political disorder. The great mediæval church was threatened with dismemberment. Martin Luther had started the revolt in Germany, Zwingli had stirred up the people living in the valley cantons of Switzerland, John Calvin, a Frenchman, had set up a model religious government at Geneva and had given to the Protestants a creed and an organization. Calvin's teachings became the basis of the Protestant faith in France and Holland, and of Presbyterianism in England, Scotland, and America.

The leaders of the Roman church were alarmed at the spread of Protestantism, and as a first step toward meeting the growing heresy they determined to correct the abuses which had led to the Protestant revolt. The great Council of Trent was called for this purpose (1545–1563) and succeeded in giving new strength and courage to the Roman church. In 1540 Ignatius Loyola founded the Society of Jesus, or the Jesuits, which became one of the most powerful missionary organizations that the world has ever seen. The Jesuits were zealous and devoted men who labored to turn the tide of Protestantism. They were influential educators, politicians, and statesmen, and were masters of the arts of intrigue and diplomacy.

The popes, the house of Guise in France, and Philip II of Spain took the leading part in this mighty religious struggle. For forty years they endeavored to check the increase of Protestantism and to obtain political control of the kingdoms that had fallen into Protestant hands. For forty years Elizabeth, who at the very outset of her reign disclosed her Protestant sympathies, was under assault, at one time or another, from Rome, France, Spain, Scotland, and Ireland. The pope excommunicated and deposed her, the Jesuits sent disguised priests into the land; Englishmen more loyal to the old faith than to their country formed conspiracies against her; Roman Catholic rulers, working from the Netherlands, Scotland, Ireland, and Brittany, plotted to gain a foothold in England and

to bring the land under the authority of the pope. Thus England, as the leading Protestant kingdom, became the storm centre in the great religious struggle, and the success of the movement elsewhere depended in no small part on the policy that England adopted.

William Cecil, Lord Burghley.

From a portrait by Gheeraerts in the National Portrait Gallery, London.

This painting shows plainly the collar of the Order of the Garter. This "most noble" order was instituted in the middle of the fourteenth century. It originally consisted of the king and twenty-five knights, but in later years the lineal descendants of George I, George II, and George III were made eligible. To-day many foreign sovereigns are members of the order. The chapel is St. George's Chapel, Windsor.

224. Elizabeth's Position at Home. — To meet the great danger that confronted her, Elizabeth needed a full treasury and the united support of all her people. But she possessed neither. The treasury was empty and the country was burdened with a debt of more than £200,000. Many of her subjects did not believe her to be the legal heir to the throne, and her cousin, Mary Stuart, a loyal representative of the old faith, was a claimant to the throne of England and an instrument in the hands of those who wished to keep England and Scotland within the fold of the Roman church. With the Roman Catholics of the Continent aiding the Roman Catholics of England and the

Protestants in England increasing steadily in numbers, there was danger of a religious war, such as broke out in France, the Netherlands, and Germany at a later time. Such a conflict, which would have been a terrible catastrophe for England, would surely have taken place had Elizabeth supported either of the extreme parties, Roman Catholic or Puritan.

In selecting William Cecil as her secretary of state, Elizabeth showed her wisdom at the very beginning; and in holding to him as her adviser till his death, in 1598, in creating him Lord Burghley in 1571 and lord treasurer of England the next year, she showed her appreciation of one of the greatest statesmen that England has ever had. Though Elizabeth was her own minister and Burghley her agent, yet to the wise moderation of the latter must be attributed in large measure the success of her reign; for he advised the queen wisely in religious matters at home, and piloted her with extraordinary skill through manifold complications abroad.

225. The Religious Settlement. — Almost the first business of the reign was the settlement of the religious question. Elizabeth at once disclosed her policy by removing the most bigoted of Mary's bishops and by appointing, as archbishop of Canterbury, Matthew Parker, known to be Protestant in his sympathies. A committee of Protestant divines was appointed to revise the Book of Common Prayer. In 1559, even against the will of the leaders of the church itself, parliament passed two great acts, the *Act of Supremacy* and the *Act of Uniformity*, and the queen, supported by Cecil, gave the royal assent. For the fourth time since the death of Henry VIII a change was effected in the organization and worship of the church.

The first of these acts declared that the English church was independent of all connection with Rome; and that the queen was the "supreme governor of the church." Elizabeth decided not to take for the moment the title of "Supreme Head," assumed by Henry VIII. The act also demanded that all the clergy and every person holding political office should take an oath acknowledging the queen's *supremacy* or incur the penalty

of losing his office. It threatened with severe punishment all persons uniting in defence of the papal authority in England. Thus the first act concerned the *government* of the church.

The second act dealt with the *forms of worship*. It provided for *uniformity* in the church service by requiring the use of the Book of Common Prayer and prescribed heavy penalties in cases of refusal. It ordered all people to attend church or chapel, and enacted that the ornaments of the church and the vestments of the clergy should be those of the reign of Edward VI.

The Act of Supremacy was strictly enforced. Of the bishops appointed by Mary, all but one refused to take the oath and resigned. The consciences of the lesser clergy were not so tender: only two hundred out of ninety-four hundred gave up their positions. The Act of Uniformity was at first very leniently executed. Many Roman Catholics continued to attend privately the old service and were not punished. On the other hand the new service was introduced without great difficulty; altars were removed and communion tables substituted, and the mural pictures of the saints were covered with whitewash.

Before settling the third question, that of *doctrine*, Elizabeth preferred to wait, in order to watch the effect of the steps thus far taken. Beyond a liking for moderate ceremony, the queen had no fixed religious preferences. So long as the people accepted the service outwardly, thus giving to the English church a national character, she did not care what they really *believed*. What Elizabeth had already done was a compromise. The English church was a compromise church: its doctrine and ritual were closely connected with the doctrine and ritual of the Roman church; yet in rejecting transubstantiation, the mass, and the authority of the pope it was distinctly Protestant. The Anglican faith was defined in 1563, when the Thirty-nine Articles were drawn up.

226. Foreign Relations. — At this time England was a small and thinly populated land; a second-rate power, inferior to France, Germany, and Spain in wealth, commerce, and in-

THE NETHERLANDS in the time of ELIZABETH
SCALE OF MILES
0 10 20 50 100
NORTH SEA
EAST FRIESLAND
WEST FRIESLAND
Leeuwarden
Groningen
Heiligerlee
Emmingen
GRONINGEN
COUNTY OF BENTHEIM
OVERYSSE
Alkmaar
Enkhuysen
Hoorn
Edam
Zaandam
Haarlem
ZUYDER ZEE
Amsterdam
Zwolle
Leyden
The Hague
Delft
Utrecht
UTRECHT
Zutphen
ZUTPHEN
BISHOPRIC OF MUNSTER
Brill
Rotterdam
GELDERLAND
DUCHY OF CLEVE
Grevecoeur
Gray
Bois le Duc
Mook
ZEELAND
WALCHEREN IS.
Flushing
Bergen-op-Zoom
Breda
Goes
COUNTY OF Reuss BERG
Ostende
Sluys
Bruges
Ghent
Antwerp
Dunkirk
Gravelines
BELONGING TO Calais ENGLAND UNTIL 1558.
Ypres
FLANDERS
Mechlin
Maestricht
Julich
Cologne
R. Meuse
R. Rhine
ARCHBISHOPRIC OF COLOGNE
DUCHY OF JULICH
Brussels
R. Scheldt
BRABANT
LIMBURG
St. Omer
Lille
Waterloo
Ramillies
Gembloux
Bonn
Guinegate
Valenciennes
Mons
Namur
NAMUR
HAINAULT
Arras
Malplaquet
ARTOIS
PICARDY
Cambrai
CATEAU CAMBRESIS
Catteau Cambresis
BISHOPRIC OF LIEGE
ARCHBISHOPRIC OF TREVES
LUXEMBURG
Luxemburg
COUNY OF AMIENS
COUNY OF VERMANDOIS
ISLE-DE-FRANCE
R. Oise
R. Aisne
R. Marne
COUNTY OF CHAMPAGNE
DUCHY OF BAR
BISHOPRIC OF VERDUN
BISHOPRIC OF METZ
DUCHY OF LORRAINE
Paris
Metz
Longitude East from Greenwich
2°
4°
6°
64°
54°
53°
52°
51°
50°
49°

fluence. Its life was largely agricultural, and its commerce was still in a measure controlled by foreign merchants. In its relations with the Continental states it was dependent upon the house of Habsburg: Henry VIII had married Catherine of Aragon, and Mary had married Philip II of Spain, each of whom was a member of the Habsburg family. Notwithstanding the diplomacy of Wolsey, England under Henry VIII was an inferior power. The monarchs of Spain, France, and Germany had always been glad of its support, but they had rarely treated its king as a sovereign of equal rank with themselves.

The traditional policy of England was enmity for France and peace with Spain. Since the time of Edward III English sovereigns had called themselves kings of France, and the two powers had quarrelled and warred over the Angevin lands in France, over the Netherlands, and over Scotland. In 1558, it is true, English sovereigns possessed no part of French territory, but there was still a fear that the French might conquer the Netherlands, the seat of English trade. More important still was the rivalry between England and France for the control of Scotland, at this time an obscure and insignificant state, where agriculture and feudal customs were still supreme. The Scots hated the English, and Scotland had become a mere satellite of France. James V had married a daughter of the house of Guise, and his daughter, Mary Queen of Scots, had been brought up in France, and had married the son of the French king, Henry II. When in 1559 Henry II died, her husband, Francis II, succeeded to the throne, and Mary, queen of Scotland, became also queen of France. As the Roman Catholic party deemed Elizabeth illegitimate, they declared that Mary was queen of England, also. Elizabeth, therefore, had to defend her title against Mary Stuart, who was supported by the Roman Catholics of France and of Europe generally. The latter, by supporting Mary, hoped to overturn Elizabeth's Protestant government. The death of Francis II in 1560, and the return of Mary to Scotland the next year, simplified the

situation, because Mary was no longer queen of France, but it did not relieve England of the danger of a Roman Catholic attack by way of Scotland.

England's relations with Spain were in the main friendly. Since mediæval times whatever power had controlled the Flemish cities had received England's support, for English merchants traded with the Continent by way of the Low Countries, and the cities there bought English wool. At this time Philip was lord of the Netherlands, and it was natural that England should desire friendship with Spain. Such an alliance was advantageous to Philip also, for England controlled the waterway from Spain to the Netherlands. Furthermore, Spain was intensely jealous of France, and Philip was very unwilling to do anything to increase the power of the French king. He was morbidly afraid lest France should gain control of England, and he would never have aided Mary Stuart, when queen of France, to become queen of England, also. In fact, soon after Elizabeth's accession, Philip offered to marry Elizabeth, but she refused, well knowing how unpopular Mary's marriage with Philip had been in England. Philip's jealousy for France was England's greatest security, for Cecil was able to play one power off against the other, to prevent a combination of the two powers against England, and to prevent England from becoming entangled in war either at home or abroad.

227. The Situation in Scotland. — Protestantism had already taken root in Scotland. In 1559 John Knox, one of the most determined of Calvin's followers, returned to Scotland from the Continent, and the Scottish reformation began in real earnest. Roused by the fiery preaching of Knox, the Scots, in a frenzy of excitement, accepted the new teaching and began to tear down and destroy altars, churches, and other monuments of the old faith. Scotland was divided into two great parties; which would Elizabeth support? For Knox and his reformation she had little liking and would never have aided the Protestant cause in Scotland on religious grounds. But for

political and national reasons she was forced to support a movement that she personally disliked. She did wish to drive the French from Scotland, and so to unite England and Scotland in a common bond.

Consequently, in the winter of 1559–1560 troops and ships were despatched northward, and for the first time in history Englishmen and Scotsmen fought side by side against France. The fighting was successful, and in July, 1560, the treaty of Edinburgh was signed between England and France. By its terms the French were to leave Scotland, Mary Stuart was to accede to the Scottish throne, but was to give up all claim to the throne of England, and no Frenchman was to hold important office in Scotland.

Had Mary Queen of Scots accepted the terms of the treaty of Edinburgh, French influence in Scotland would have come to an end then and there. But she refused to accept them, and the treaty was signed only by the Scottish lords. The agreement was, however, a victory for Cecil and Elizabeth, and marked an important step toward the resumption of friendly relations between England and Scotland. The work of reform in Scotland was completed in 1560, when a parliament met in Edinburgh and did for Scotland what the English parliament had done in 1559 for England. It threw off the authority of the pope, abolished the sacrament of the mass, dissolved the monasteries, and seized the monastic lands. The Protestant faith as defined by Calvin was adopted, and another bond now existed between the two countries, for henceforth England and Scotland were Protestant kingdoms.

228. Mary Stuart in Scotland. — When Mary Stuart reached Scotland, after the death of her French husband, Francis II, she came face to face with a remarkable situation. Her subjects had done two things for which they had no legal warrant. They had signed the treaty of Edinburgh and they had set up a new church in Scotland. Neither of these acts was lawful without the queen's consent, and this consent she refused to give. She refused to be disloyal to her creed and her church.

But her position was difficult. She was confronted by men who hated her family and her creed, and deemed her but an agent of the pope for the destruction of the Protestant church in Scotland. Yet for four years she governed Scotland with remarkable shrewdness and tact, accepted the Protestant religion, checking attempts at Catholic worship, protecting the old clergy in the possession of their lands, and demanding the right to hear mass in the royal chapel. At the same time she tried to be friendly to Elizabeth, seeking, but in vain, some recognition of herself as heir to the English throne.

Mary Queen of Scots.

From a painting in the Bodleian Gallery, Oxford.

229. Fall of Mary Stuart. — To further the cause which she had at heart, of bringing Scotland back into the fold of the church, Mary now married her cousin Henry, Lord Darnley, heir after Mary to the throne of Scotland. Darnley was a Roman Catholic, by education at least, but a vain, vicious, empty-headed youth. This marriage to a member of the powerful house of Lennox freed Mary from the control of the Protestant lords, seemed to give a new unity to the Catholic party in Scotland, and enabled her to deal Protestantism a series of powerful blows. Mary seemed to be on the eve of a great triumph, and the birth of a son and heir in 1566 came

ATLANTIC OCEAN
ORKNEY ISLES
Pentland Firth
NORTH SEA
HEBRIDES OR WESTERN ISLANDS
Moray Firth
Inverness
Culloden
ELGYN
NARNE
BANFF
ABERDEEN
KINCARDINE
FORFAR
Killiecrankie
Dunkeld
Dunfermline
PERTH
Scone
Perth
Tippermuir
Firth of Tay
St Andrews
FIFE
NORTH SEA
Firth of Forth
Dunbar
Firth of Lorn
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Bannockburn
Cumbuskenneth
STIRLING
Stirling
Falkirk
Edinburgh
Pentland Hills
Preston pans
Glasgow
LOTHIAN
Pinkie
RENFREW
Bothwell Bridge
BERWICK
Berwick
Tweed R.
Flodden
Roxburgh
BUTE
Firth of Clyde
PEEBLES
Melrose
Jedburgh
SELKIRK
ROXBURGH
DUMFRIES
KIRKCUDBRIGHT
Solway Moss
IRELAND
WIGTOWN
Solway Firth
IRISH SEA
ISLE OF MAN
ENGLAND
SCOTLAND
in the
Sixteenth Century
(the Divisions are
Shires)
SCALE OF MILES
0 10 20 30 40 50
Longitude 5 West from 4 Greenwich
59°
58°
57°
56°
55°
54°
7°
6°
5°
4°
3°
2°

as an auspicious omen of eventual success. But already Darnley was involving the queen in ruin. Mary's refusal to grant Darnley royal privileges led to a quarrel between the royal pair and to the murder in March, 1566, of Rizzio, Mary's secretary, of whom Darnley was jealous. This brutal murder disclosed and made notorious Mary's unhappy relations with her husband. Conspiracies were already forming against Darnley, and how far Mary was privy to them is one of the great mysteries of her life. That she knew of the existence of a plot is proved, but that she was herself actually concerned in it has not been demonstrated. On February 9–10, 1567, Kirk O'Field, the house in which Darnley was staying in Edinburgh, was blown up, and Darnley was found dead in an adjoining field. The crime was committed by the earl of Bothwell, a rough border noble, to whom Mary, made desperate by the misery of her marriage and the need of protection, had turned as her friend and champion, and whom she married three months afterward. From that day Mary's cause in Scotland was lost. All hope of a restoration of the old religion was destroyed. The Catholics were divided and disheartened, while the middle classes of Scotland, indignant at what appeared to be the moral degradation of their queen, turned against her.

After a defeat at Carberry Hill by the Scottish lords, Mary was compelled to abdicate in favor of her infant son, James VI, who was crowned at Stirling under Protestant auspices. Escaping from Lochleven Castle, she was again defeated at Langside, and then fleeing from Scotland, she sought the protection of Elizabeth, who was greatly embarrassed by her arrival in England. Elizabeth did not know what to do with her. She did not wish to keep her; she could not restore her to her throne in Scotland; and she dared not let her find refuge on the Continent. She appointed a commission to investigate her guilt, but no definite conclusion was reached. Mary remained in England virtually a prisoner for eighteen years, a constant source of danger to Elizabeth's government.

230. The Question of Elizabeth's Marriage. — Through all the early years of Elizabeth's reign the question of the queen's marriage was a most important one for Elizabeth and for England. Should Elizabeth give her hand to a foreigner, as her sister Mary had done, she would lose popularity in England. When Mary's husband, Philip II, had proposed marriage to her, Elizabeth was too wise to make so unpopular a choice. Her subjects wished her to marry an Englishman, but there was only one Englishman for whom she cared, and that was the earl of Leicester, accused, but probably unjustly, of having murdered his wife, Amy Robsart. Elizabeth knew that such an alliance was out of the question. Moreover, it was greatly to her advantage in diplomatic affairs not to decide the matter, but to be free to consider marriage proposals from those sovereigns whose aid England needed. Until Elizabeth was past forty years of age she and Cecil played one suitor off against another as policy dictated.

Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester.

From a portrait — artist unknown — in the National Portrait Gallery, London.

In the upper left-hand corner is painted the garter of the famous Order of the Garter.

Parliament, anxious to have the question of the succession settled, repeatedly requested the queen to marry, but for years

Elizabeth coquetted with first one suitor and then another, and to the end remained unmarried.

231. England's Prosperity in 1568. — Cecil had said at the beginning of the reign that "war is the curse and peace the blessing of God upon a nation; a realm gaineth more by one year's peace than by ten years' war," and the first ten years of

From a photograph.

KENILWORTH CASTLE.

It was presented by Elizabeth to Leicester in 1563.

Elizabeth's reign proved the truth of his saying. By 1568 England had safely weathered the first great crisis of Elizabeth's reign, and for the moment at least was secure from outside invasion. The cause of Mary Stuart was discredited in Scotland, and the queen herself was in the hands of Elizabeth, a guest in name, but a prisoner in fact. France was involved in civil and religious war, and Spain was busy with a revolt against her authority in the Netherlands.

At home conditions were equally favorable. Trade and

commerce had suffered under Edward VI and Mary, owing to the debasement of the currency and the neglect of English shipping. But it now began to revive. Cecil had begun at once to "decry base money" and to provide for the reform of the currency. In 1560 the base coins were called in and exchanged for standard ones. Money became better and more plentiful; prices rose evenly and gradually, and the merchants and traders, who were no longer hampered by a debased currency, began to grow rich.

Industry and Commerce. — Cecil encouraged skilled artisans from other countries to come to England — Protestants driven from Flanders and France, who settled in England and established there the particular handicrafts in which they excelled. The growth of commerce outstripped even the manufacturing industries. The English government paid special attention to shipping, and by several enactments gave trade advantages to Englishmen, inciting them to build ships and to do the carrying trade themselves. Lastly, Cecil strengthened the queen's navy, got fighting men ready for sea service, built fortresses, and experimented with the making of brass cannon. Thus, while encouraging the building of merchantmen and giving England a monopoly of shipping, he was laying the foundations of England's navy and was preparing the way for England's future greatness as mistress of the seas.

The Poor Law: the Statute of Apprentices. — But the agricultural and landowning classes did not prosper as much as did the merchants and manufacturers. The reign of Elizabeth marks the completion of that movement which we have seen taking place since the reign of Richard II — the breaking up of the mediæval system of agriculture. The decay of the towns and the gilds had thrown trade regulation into confusion, while enclosures, decay of villeinage, and other causes already noted had increased poverty and vagabondage among the agricultural classes. Attempts had been made to check these evils by preventing further enclosures, by encouraging corn raising instead of sheep raising, and by regulating wages.

But with the rise of prices in Elizabeth's reign poverty increased, and the old means of relieving the poor no longer existed; for the monasteries, chantries, and other semi-religious foundations that had looked after the poor in preceding centuries had been swept away by Henry VIII and Edward VI.

Among the earliest measures to be considered by Elizabeth's parliament, therefore, were those regulating labor and prices and relieving the poor. In 1563 two acts were passed — one concerning relief of the poor, the *Poor Law*, and another, commonly called the *Statute of Apprentices*, concerning "artificers, laborers, servants of husbandry, and apprentices." The first required that every parish should support its own poor, and this system, confirmed in 1601, remained in force well into the nineteenth century. The second act regulated labor, wages, and apprenticeships.[1]

Thus in the period from 1558 to 1568 England had grown strong in wealth, industry, shipping, and commerce. The government, prudent and patriotic, was holding the balance of power abroad, because by aiding the Dutch or the Huguenots (French Protestants) it could embarrass Spain or France; while at home it was becoming more national, assuming new duties and exercising new powers, regulating and controlling labor and wages, providing for the poor, punishing rogues and vagabonds, and either itself or through its officials doing the work that had been performed in the Middle Ages by the local factors, — towns, gilds, and manorial lords. A transformed and modern England was gradually appearing.

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[1] Under this law laborers were hired, as a rule, by the year. Every craftsman was required to serve an apprenticeship of seven years. Then he became a journeyman, and after that a master. A laborer worked from dawn till dark, an average of twelve hours a day. A uniform rate of wages for the year was established in each county by the justices of the peace, country gentlemen who had been for some time becoming more and more important in the counties on account of their judicial authority, and who were now given new prominence as administrators of the poor law and the statute of apprentices.

232. Roman Catholic Plots. — But England had still to face a crisis greater even than that through which she had already passed. After 1568 the Roman Catholic church, which had begun to regain ground in Europe by winning back converts in Spain, Italy, France, and southern Germany, redoubled its efforts in England to recover that land for the old faith, and to weaken the Protestant cause, of which England was the main support.

The instrument of Roman Catholicism in England was Mary Stuart, who from this time forward became the centre of plot after plot against Elizabeth and her Protestant régime. Giving up expectation of aid from France, Mary Stuart depended henceforth on the pope and Philip II abroad and on the Roman Catholic lords at home. The pope despatched money and agents to encourage the Roman Catholic party in England, and within the realm discontented factions began to plot for the overthrow of Cecil and the establishment of a Roman Catholic party in control of the government. Mary, who was allowed at this time considerable personal freedom and a retinue of thirty friends and attendants, found ample opportunity to coöperate with the Catholic party in England.

The first dangerous conspiracy is that known as the *Ridolfi Plot.* Ridolfi was an Italian banker, who passed back and forth between England and Italy weaving plots. This plot probably originated with the Spanish ambassador, and took the form of a contemplated invasion of England by Spanish forces. The pope, in order to strengthen the cause in England, excommunicated Elizabeth and absolved all Englishmen from their allegiance. In Scotland the friends of Mary, assisted by the Northumberland earls, were ready to cross the border. But Cecil, now Lord Burghley, became suspicious of Ridolfi and the ambassador, and gradually unravelled all the details of the conspiracy, in which Mary and the duke of Norfolk were implicated. Norfolk was arrested, tried for high treason, found guilty, and executed (1572), and Mary was saved from the same fate only because Elizabeth was unwilling to injure a crowned head.

233. Loyalty of Parliament. — Whenever Elizabeth was confronted by a great crisis like this, she was fond of summoning parliament, in order to show to other powers how well her acts were upheld by the English nation. In 1571 she called her third parliament. This body, like its predecessors, was composed mainly of Protestants, partly because the queen had requested that Protestants be elected, partly because honest Roman Catholics, unable conscientiously to take the oath of supremacy, could not sit as members.

Parliament passed certain acts that were intended as a reply to the great Catholic conspiracy. The first of these made it high treason to plot against the queen's life, to claim the throne during the lifetime of the queen, or even to support such a claim; a second made it high treason for any one to bring into England, or to put into use there, any decree or bull of the pope; while a third act sanctioned the Thirty-nine Articles already adopted by convocation as containing the doctrine of the Anglican church. The fourth parliament, which met in 1572, imposed the penalty of death upon all who should attempt to seize or destroy any of the queen's fortresses or castles, or should conspire to set at liberty any one imprisoned for treason.

Although these measures show that Elizabeth's parliaments were devoted to her cause and policy, yet it must be remembered that these parliaments did not represent the whole of England. They were composed in the main of Protestants from the south, and included no members either from the north or from Ireland.

It should be noticed, furthermore, that though not yet in the modern sense a representative body, parliament was gradually becoming more modern as regards the class of men who sat in it, the questions it discussed, and the powers it exercised. Instead of country squires, who had up to this time filled many seats in parliament, merchants, lawyers, and artisans were becoming members, notably from the towns. Though party organization was as yet unknown, the members were be-

coming more outspoken in their support of, or opposition to, governmental measures, and were gradually establishing certain parliamentary rights, such as freedom from arrest, freedom of speech, and freedom of access to the sovereign. No measure proposed by the queen could become law without their consent, and they controlled all appropriations of money. Yet, on the other hand, the powers of the queen were very great. She named the speaker, appointed new peers, created new boroughs, and by means of the right of initiative, exercised control of the bills to be brought before parliament. She was also the head of the government, and through her councils and great officials controlled the actual administration of the kingdom.

234. End of the Policy of Moderation. — After 1576 it became evident that the policy of holding the balance even between France and Spain, and of playing off one power against another could not be maintained. In spite of the desire of Elizabeth and Burghley to avoid war abroad and to pursue a policy of moderation at home, England was gradually assuming a position of open hostility toward Spain and the Roman Catholic party. English sentiment was aroused by the struggle of the Dutch against Spain. In 1576 the unpaid and mutinous Spanish soldiers devastated the fairest cities of Flanders and drove the Flemish nobles over to the side of the Protestant Dutch, who were fighting under William of Orange for their freedom from Spanish control. English sympathies, which were with the Dutch, finally forced Elizabeth, hitherto lukewarm, into definite action. Desiring to keep on good terms with those who were likely to control Flanders, she ignored Burghley's advice and sent four hundred thousand crowns to aid the Flemish. Philip retaliated by aiding the rebels in Ireland, by encouraging the Catholics in England with prospects of help, and by fitting out a fleet in 1580 which seemed designed for the conquest of England.

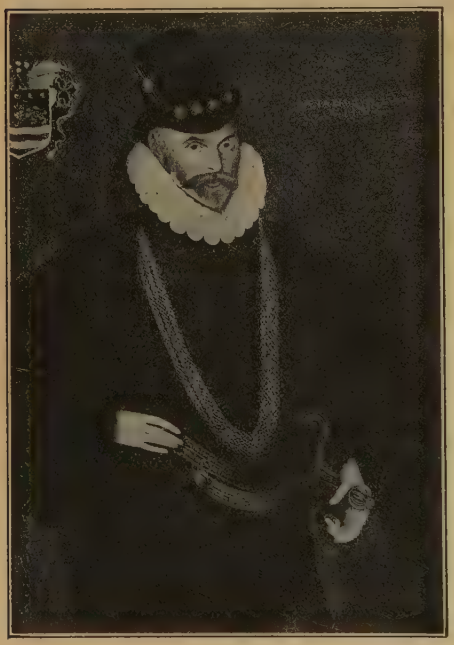
In like manner, the government was shaping its policy toward the Roman Catholic party in England. Loyal English-

men were aroused by the labors of the Jesuits, who had already increased the number of converts and infused new life into the Roman Catholic body. In Ireland and Scotland the Jesuits were making strenuous efforts to excite a spirit of opposition to Elizabeth's rule, and in England to organize conspiracies against the government. Conversion to Roman Catholicism involved necessarily the denial of the queen's supremacy. Therefore, parliament passed laws declaring that any one who drew away any of the queen's subjects "to the Romish religion" should be adjudged a traitor. Death was the penalty for treason, and under this law a number of Roman Catholics were executed in 1581.

235. The Elizabethan Seamen: the "Sea Dogs." — The actions of the English privateers abroad were aiding the war party at home. The seamen of the southwestern coast had for years carried on a half-piratical warfare against the Spanish and Portuguese ships and even against the vessels of other nations. English sailors crossed the Atlantic, robbed the Spanish ships, and sacked the seaports of the Spanish colonies. Philip threatened with his vengeance all English Protestants who ventured into the Spanish seas, and such as fell into the hands of his officials were often cruelly tortured. But the tales of suffering and adventure in the Spanish West Indies only whetted the appetites of the daring navigators. They continued to rob the "gold ships" of the king of Spain.

One of the noted leaders, John Hawkins, was the father of the English slave trade, and established a lucrative business by stealing negroes on the African coast and selling them to the Spanish colonies. Hawkins's kinsman, Francis Drake, was not a slave trader, but he was a famous freebooter on the seas. He crossed the Atlantic, passed the Straits of Magellan, swept up the west coast of the Americas, raised the English flag somewhere on the coast of the present state of California, and, with an enormous amount of booty — gold, money, and jewels — captured from the Spaniards, crossed the Pacific Ocean, rounded the Cape of Good Hope, and finally reached England,

after having completed the circuit of the globe. In 1585, when Philip threatened to attack England, Drake sailed with twenty-five vessels for the Spanish Main. He plundered the Spanish cities of the West Indies and returned to England with a heavy booty. The great lords of the court, and even the queen herself, shared the plunder of this and other similar adventures.



Sir John Hawkins.

From a portrait owned by Miss Stuart Hawkins.

He fought with such valor in the great fight against the Armada in 1588 that the Lord High Admiral knighted him during the battle.

236. Plots and Counterplots. — The activities of the seminary priests and Roman Catholic conspirators on one side, and the raids of Hawkins and Drake on the other, were making it evident that Elizabeth must take some definite stand. The situation was considerably simplified by the failure of a Spanish and Jesuit conspiracy to secure control of the Scottish government (1582), so that danger from that quarter was removed; and by the outbreak of civil war in France in 1584, whereby fears of French attack upon England were dispelled. The secretary of state, Walsingham, in the council, was tracing with marvel-

lous ingenuity the plots that were formed against Elizabeth and was using his information for the purpose of bringing about war with Spain. Of him it was said that he heard in England what was whispered in Rome.

Thus with 1584 the war party obtained the upper hand in Elizabeth's council and determined to meet the Catholic intrigues by forming a Protestant league. In 1583 a plot to assassinate Elizabeth had been discovered, and in consequence an association of loyal Englishmen had been formed for the purpose of revenging "to the uttermost all malicious actions and attempts" against the queen. This association was legalized by parliament in 1585. In the same year a new act was passed against the Jesuits and the seminary priests, and there is little doubt that had the queen and Burghley not been inclined to leniency the measures taken would have been much more severe.

237. Execution of Mary Queen of Scots. — During the fourteen years since the failure of the Ridolfi plot Mary Queen of Scots, very insecurely confined in an Englishman's country house, had not ceased to work by every secret means in her power for the overthrow of Elizabeth. One plot after another had failed through Walsingham's watchfulness. Finally, in 1586 the secretary had in his possession the details of the greatest of the plots in which the Scottish queen was concerned. By a shrewdly contrived plan he intercepted letters from Mary promising coöperation in a scheme for the invasion of England by Philip II. Philip had been maddened by the expedition led by Drake to the Spanish West Indies in 1585, and by England's aid of the Dutch, and he now determined to take his revenge. In June, 1586, Mary disinherited her son James in favor of Philip, who desired to conquer England not only for the sake of the Catholic cause, but to win the new inheritance for himself and his family. But before the expedition could be undertaken, Walsingham had charged Mary with direct complicity in the scheme whereby England was to be invaded, a native uprising promoted, and Elizabeth assassinated.

Under the act of 1585 (p. 237) Mary Queen of Scots was brought to trial before a special commission sitting in the great hall of Fotheringay Castle and during ten days conducted her defence with consummate ability. But the trial was a farce, for her doom was sealed beforehand. Mary's death was necessary for the peace of England and the security of the throne. On October 25, 1586, she was condemned to death. Elizabeth hesitated even to the last, for though she was anxious to be rid of the Scottish queen, she was unwilling to bear the blame of having executed a sovereign. After long delay, she signed the warrant, and on February 8, 1587, Mary Stuart was beheaded. Thereupon Elizabeth became angry, asserting that she had wished to pardon the Scottish queen; and Davison, the secretary, who had carried out the sentence, was deprived of his office, thrown into the Tower, and compelled to pay a fine that ruined him. His treatment by Elizabeth, Burghley, and the council is not a pleasant episode in English history. Even less pleasant was the attitude of Mary's son, James VI of Scotland. It is true that he had not seen his mother since he was an infant and had no sympathy with the cause she represented, but he made no attempt to interfere in her behalf and continued his friendship for Elizabeth in order to assure his succession to the English throne.

238. The Spanish Armada. — The death of Mary gave Philip an immediate claim to the English throne. He did not want that throne for himself, but wished to establish his favorite daughter, Isabella, as queen of England; and with this end in view he hurried forward the preparation for the great Armada, which had been going on in dilatory fashion for two years. In England, as well as in Spain, the execution of Mary Queen of Scots had caused a great shock. Conspirators were discouraged. Moderate Catholics, who had been ready to support the cause of Mary Stuart as long as she lived, would not transfer their allegiance to Philip, because in so doing they would have been disloyal to their nationality. They now stood shoulder to shoulder with the Protestants in resisting Philip's aggres-

sion. The great duel was to be between mediæval, ecclesiastical, autocratic Spain on one side, and young, national, Protestant England on the other. All other powers held aloof. Preparations for the great expedition, which had been hastened by the death of Mary Stuart, were delayed by an attack on Cadiz in the spring of 1587, when Drake sailed boldly into the harbor and inflicted on Spain damage to the

THE SPANISH ARMADA.

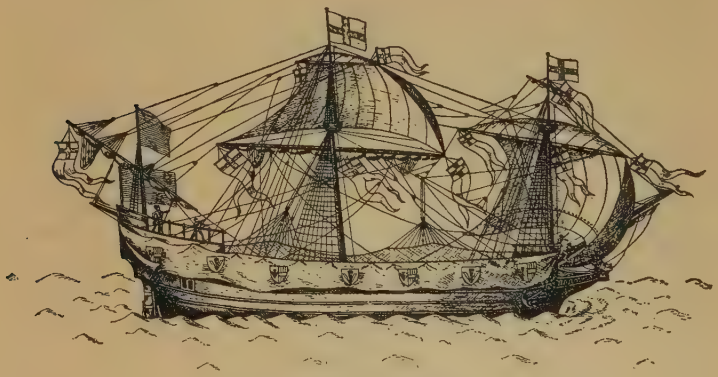
In the form of a half-moon, pursued by the English fleet.

From an engraving by John Pine, after the old tapestry hangings which were destroyed when the Houses of Parliament burned in 1834.

extent of a million ducats. Philip was enraged at Drake's insolence, and even Burghley, who was still struggling to preserve the peace, was angry. But the English people were delighted at this "singeing of the Spanish king's beard" and made Drake a national hero.

At last, in the summer of 1588, the Armada started for England, reaching the Channel in July. It presented an imposing array of one hundred and thirty-two vessels, but was in fact ponderous and unwieldy, badly equipped and provisioned, and commanded by an incompetent admiral, the duke of Medina Sidonia. Confronting it were but thirty-four English ships, of half the tonnage, but manned by experienced crews

and led by Drake, Hawkins, Frobisher, and others, the heroes of a hundred sea-fights. The plan of the Armada was to sail to Flanders, take on board six thousand Spanish soldiers and land them on the English or the Scottish coast. But the great fleet never reached Flanders. Beset on every side by the English vessels during its voyage up the Channel, it was finally utterly defeated in a hard fight off Gravelines and compelled



An English Frigate.

From a copper plate by D. T. deBrijon (1587) in the British Museum.

This represents the frigate in which Sir Philip Sidney's body was carried back to England, after his death in the Netherlands, 1586.

to take flight northward through the North Sea. Still further harassed by the storms of the north coast, it suffered final disaster in rounding Scotland and Ireland, and only fifty-three vessels ever again reached Spain.

239. Significance of the Victory. — The victory over the Armada welded England into one nation. Religious differences were forgotten. Protestant and Catholic had fought against the common foe, and both realized that whatever might be their religious differences, they were first of all Englishmen. Thus, out of the defeat of the Armada rose a new England, rich and prosperous, a national and Protestant king-

dom, no longer in the leading strings of France and Spain, but independent and self-reliant, ready for the great future that lay before her.

240. Rise of the Puritans. — The continued conflict with Spain had helped to make England a Protestant kingdom and her church a Protestant church; yet among the Protestants were those who were not satisfied with Elizabeth's moderation and wished that "all, even the slightest vestiges of popery," might be removed. These people, at first called "Evangelics," had been obliged to flee from England during Mary's reign and to take refuge in certain cities of Germany, — Geneva, Zurich, Strasburg, Frankfort, and Basel. There they had established churches, and during the years 1554–1558 had fought out among themselves many of the issues afterward to be raised in England. When in 1554 they had submitted to Calvin the question as to whether or not the prayer book of Edward VI should be adopted, he decided against it, on the ground that the prayer book lacked the *purity* that was desirable. This decision gave the victory to the more extreme or Calvinistic party among them and suggested the name Puritan, which was afterward given to this party in England. Thus in Geneva and Frankfort, before Elizabeth's accession, a new religious party had come into being, which not only rejected the entire tradition of the old Catholic church, but was opposed to any compromise with the old forms and doctrines.[1]

241. Elizabeth and the Puritans. — When these reformers returned to England, they hoped that Elizabeth and her ministers would adopt the Calvinism of the Continent. They opposed

[1] For these Puritans abroad a new translation of the Bible was printed — the Genevan or "Breeches" Bible, which omitted the Apocrypha, struck out of the calendar saints' names and days, and in the explanatory notes defended the Puritan doctrines. The new Bible was smaller in size than had been the older versions, contained a text which for the first time was divided into verses, and was printed in Roman instead of black letter type. With Calvin's *Institutes* and Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* it became the guide and consoler of the Puritans during the later days of trouble.

the retention in the service of "certain vestments and ceremonies which seemed to savor of the Roman liturgy." They wished to get rid of the cap and surplice, of the use of the sign of the cross, of the ring in marriage, of the practice of kneeling at the reception of the sacrament. But Elizabeth would consider none of these changes, and in her decision was supported by the majority of the nation, which loved the old Catholic forms. The matter was settled by the Act of Uniformity of 1559, which ordered that the vestments and rites should be those of Edward VI's time. Some of the clergy still refused, however, to observe these regulations, and it was not until Whitgift became archbishop in 1583 that serious attempts were made to compel them to do so.

242. Presbyterians and Independents. — Up to this time the reformers had been concerned chiefly with questions of worship; they had not objected to the state control of the church. But the controversy over vestments had led certain among them to ask whether the organization of the Anglican church ought not to be changed, also. Of these, Thomas Cartwright, professor of divinity at Cambridge, was the leader. He agreed with the Anglicans in desiring the church to be national, but he wished it to be separated from the control of the state. For bishops and priests he would substitute presbyters and elders, and would have every minister selected by the congregation and dependent upon it, instead of being appointed and paid by the state. Those supporting these views came to be known as Presbyterians, and in Northampton and Warwick they set up Presbyterian churches which adopted the Genevan Book of Common Prayer instead of that of Edward VI. The Presbyterians differed from the Anglicans in rejecting convocation, bishops, the Book of Common Prayer, the method of appointing and paying ministers, and finally the authority of the state and the supremacy of the queen.

More radical than the Presbyterians were those afterward known as *Independents*, who, like the Presbyterians, objected to state control of the church and state taxes for the salaries of

the clergy, but who went farther and rejected entirely a national church. They desired that only those who were faithful Christians should constitute a church, and that each church so constituted should be complete in itself, self-governing, and *independent* of all higher control. The Independents were not willing, as were the Puritans, to remain within the Anglican church, hoping for a purification of its worship, or, as were the Presbyterians, hoping that the government would change the organization of the church. They were more than Non-conformists; they were Separatists. Inasmuch as they applied their theories of church government to political government also, they are of very great importance in the later history both of England and of America.

243. Persecution of the Extreme Protestants. — Archbishop Whitgift, who came into office in 1583, applied the Act of Uniformity with such severity as to call out a protest from Lord Burghley. Whitgift worked through the Court of High Commission, a special court erected for the carrying out of the church system established by the various acts of parliament. The court was specially empowered to judge and punish heresy, but until this time it had exercised its powers very leniently. After 1583 its activity became offensive to the majority of the people of England, though it must be remembered that the period was a critical one in the history of the English church. The plots of the Roman Catholics, the threatened invasion of Philip II, the dependence of the church upon the state, which was itself far from secure, rendered the attacks of the Puritans a very real menace to the ecclesiastical authorities. There were Puritan members in parliament and the Privy Council, and Elizabeth herself had taken occasion to rebuke those bodies, coming out strongly against all "new-fangledness." In 1588 the Puritans began to issue pamphlets of a most scurrilous character, attacking the bishops and signed "Martin Marprelate."

This violent controversy, occurring in the very year of the Armada, injured the Puritan cause and led to a reaction

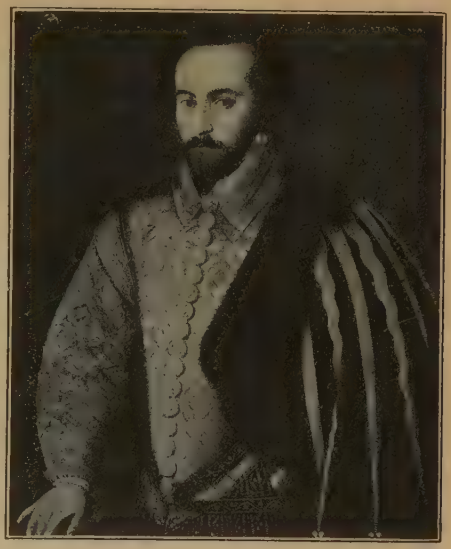
against all Non-conformists and Separatists.[1] They were charged with disloyalty in that they threatened England with disunion at a very critical juncture (1586–1588), and certain measures were taken against them, which culminated in the act of parliament of 1593. This act was directed against "seditious sectaries and disloyal persons," and inaugurated a new persecution, chiefly of the Separatists. Many were driven into exile and all were silenced. This persecution continued into the next reign, and among those who suffered was a congregation of Separatists in northern England, who, "hunted and persecuted on every side," fled from England in 1608, going first to Holland and finally to America. These were the Pilgrims who landed at Plymouth in 1620.

244. Last Years of Elizabeth's Reign. — Elizabeth's last years were stormy. The war with Spain dragged on. A new insurrection in Ireland kept that land in a state of unbroken disturbance; while the persecution of the Roman Catholics, the Non-conformists, and the Separatists provoked bitterness of feeling at home. Despite the growing national sentiment there was a feeling of despondency in the air. Elizabeth herself was growing old and petulant. Her favorite, Essex, who had taken Leicester's place in her affections, was a source of continual anxiety to her; and his disobedience, misconduct, and finally his treason, for which he was executed in 1601, caused her great grief. With parliament she came into conflict over the question of monopolies. When her diminishing income made it impossible for her to make gifts, she had been

[1] The Conformists (Anglicans), members of the church of England, were content with the church as it then was. The Non-conformists, in the narrower use of the word, included (1) the Puritans, who desired reform in the prayer book and the ritual, and (2) the Presbyterians, who wanted a change in the organization as well. During Elizabeth's reign the Non-conformists did not wish separation from the church of England. The *Separatists* (Independents) objected to a national church and wished each congregation to be self-governing and independent. In the second half of the seventeenth century "Non-conformist" was used to designate all who refused to conform to the Anglican church — Roman Catholics and Quakers, as well as those mentioned above.

accustomed to grant to favored persons absolute control over the sale of such commodities as salt, corn, and oil, and in 1601 parliament protested against this practice. Her submission on this occasion was almost the last great act of her life.

Elizabeth was outliving her time. Burghley, the last of her old advisers, had died in 1598, and the younger men, such as Essex, Robert Cecil, Ralegh, the Bacons, and others, were out of touch with her and quarrelling for position and influence. The new generation of the nation, who knew more of her persecutions than of her cautious diplomacy and wise moderation, greeted her appearance with less enthusiasm than of old and called her miserly. Gradually she drew near her end, and on March 20, 1603, she died, in the seventieth year of her age and the forty-fifth of her reign.



Sir Walter Ralegh.

From a portrait by Zuccaro in the National Portrait Gallery.

245. The Elizabethan Age. — As we finish the long and involved period of Elizabeth's reign, we realize that we are face to face with a new and more modern era of English history. England had become a power of first rank, and her people had increased in numbers and had become prosperous. For forty years Englishmen had been building ships, and English ships were now sailing on every sea. Trade with the East Indies de-

veloped greatly, and to extend this trade English sailors had tried to find the "Northeast" and "Northwest" passages. Chancellor sailed to the northeast into the White Sea and opened up trade with Russia. Martin Frobisher (1576) and Davis (1583) sailed far into the frozen north in the New World, and Baffin and Hudson followed them later. English fishermen were found off the banks of Newfoundland and in the whaling waters off the coast of Greenland.

Sir Martin Frobisher.

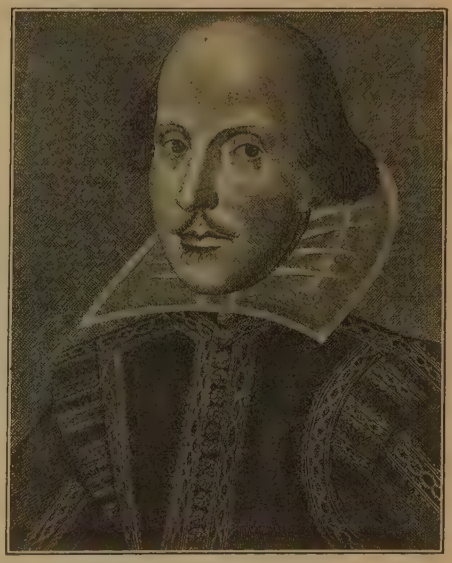
From a portrait by Ketel in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

Commerce was growing, as was also the navy, and the few colonial expeditions, notably those of Sir Humphrey Gilbert and Sir Walter Ralegh,[1] foreshadowed the great colonial activities of the seventeenth century. Agriculture received a new impulse when in 1598 parliament passed an act forbidding enclosures for pas-

[1] Walter Ralegh's plan was to oppose Spain by planting colonies in America. In 1585 and in 1587 he made attempts to colonize, which, though unsuccessful, paved the way for the permanent settlement of 1607.

ture purposes. Sheep rearing consequently declined in importance, tillage was encouraged, with better farming methods, and soil became more productive, and new staples like hops and potatoes were introduced. As wealth increased, so did luxury and display.

The poor and the vagabonds were dealt with once more in the famous Poor Laws of 1597 and 1601, which extended the law of 1563 and brought into more systematic form all the earlier measures, throwing the care of the poor on the parishes and the execution of the laws on the justices of the peace. As the years passed, the acts tended to encourage pauperism, making it more profitable for a workman to live on the parish than to engage in honest labor, and increasing the cost of taking care of the poor from less than a million pounds in the seventeenth century to nearly eight million at the beginning of the nineteenth. The system was not changed till 1834.



WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE.

From the engraving by Martin Droeshout in the first folio, published 1623.

With the prosperity that followed improved agriculture, commerce, and industry, conditions of living improved. For the first time the farmers' houses were provided with chimneys and windows, and windowpanes came into use with the reduction in the price of glass. Owing to the peace and the general feeling of security, houses of the

wealthy were built for comfort and not for defence. Carpets took the place of reeds and rushes; rooms were cleaner and better furnished; the quality of food improved, and pewter plates and knives came into use, though forks were not introduced till the next reign. Clothing became finer and more elaborate, due in part to the importations of silk that followed

From a photograph.

CHURCH OF THE HOLY TRINITY, STRATFORD-ON-AVON.

Shakespeare is buried here.

the growth of trade. In general, the outlook was happier, the people more contented, and a fair measure of prosperity prevailed throughout the kingdom.

More noteworthy even than the changes in material conditions were the advances in intellectual and literary life. Matthew Parker was almost the first to edit historical texts relating to early English history; Holinshed and Stow were among the first to write chronicles in English; while Elizabeth herself was the first sovereign to begin a collection, in system-

atic form, of national documents, a work which resulted a century later in the publication of Rymer's *Fœdera*, and is represented to-day by the great *Calendar of State Papers*, an index to the splendid collections of official materials which England possesses for the writing of her own history.

There is no better witness to the reality of the new national feeling in England than the expression which it found in poetry, prose, and the drama during the last twenty years of Elizabeth's reign. For this there had been a long preparation. In the towns the level of education had been steadily rising for two centuries, and free grammar schools, founded by the trading classes, had spread widely a knowledge of reading and writing, and made it common among the people. But no one could have anticipated the richness of the English Renaissance when it finally came. Beginning in poetry with Spenser's *Fairy Queen*, in drama with Marlowe's *Dr. Faustus*, in prose with Ascham's *The Schoolmaster*, Lyly's *Euphues*, Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*, and the writings of Francis Bacon, it reached its highest form in the plays of Shakespeare. There is no opportunity here to discuss the genius of these men or the growth of a national drama. The Elizabethan literature, like the deeds of Elizabethan seamen, stands as an expression of national confidence and enthusiasm, of national independence and self-reliance.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE STUARTS AND PARLIAMENT.

246. England at the Opening of the Seventeenth Century. — As long as England was in danger from outside attack, the people forgot their religious and political differences and united for the defence of their land. But when the immediate danger had been removed by the victory over the Armada in 1588, they began to think about these differences and to define their religious and political views more exactly. On the religious side the Anglicans drew farther and farther away from the Presbyterians and the Independents. On the political side the members of parliament were becoming less and less willing to accept the subordinate position in government which they had hitherto occupied. Parliament had accepted the absolutism of the Tudors because a strong monarchy was needed to raise the kingdom to a position of political and religious independence.

But England had now attained that position, and an absolute monarch was no longer required, as it had been in the days of Henry VII and Henry VIII. During the last years of Elizabeth's reign parliament had become restless, but as long as the queen lived the nation remained loyal to the sovereign whose reign had brought it peace and prosperity. But neither parliament nor nation were willing to yield so submissively to the wishes of her successor. The middle class, merchants, artisans, and lawyers, representing the boroughs as the landed gentry continued to represent the counties, were coming to the front and were taking the lead in the House of Commons. This house had been and still was inferior in importance to the House of Lords, but it was beginning to assume a more independent position, and it now took up the

struggle with monarchy in order to obtain, if possible, a greater control in matters of government.

While king and parliament were struggling over the question of government, Anglican and Puritan were in conflict over the equally important question of the faith and organization of the church. These two phases of the period from 1604 to 1689 were so inextricably interwoven that in treatment they cannot be separated. The High Churchmen were generally the supporters of the divine right of monarchy, while the Low Churchmen and the Dissenters were generally the upholders of the claims of parliament. The former were the conservatives in politics and religion, the latter were more radical, wishing important changes in government and in the creed and organization of the church. Neither of these parties knew exactly what it wanted at the beginning of the seventeenth century, but each defined its position more exactly as it went along. Had it not been for the religious difficulty the quarrel about government might have been settled, but at this time men were not willing to compromise on questions of belief.

JAMES I.

From a portrait (1621) by Paul von Somer in the National Portrait Gallery, London.

247. James I (VI of Scotland).—The new king, James Stuart, son of Mary Queen of Scots, was the man called upon to face

the difficult situation in 1603. His right to the throne was based not on parliamentary act, but upon heredity, as the great grandson of Henry VII. He was good natured, fond of peace, and opposed to extremes of any kind. He was learned in a way, a poet, a writer on theological and other subjects, such as the use of tobacco, which he heartily disliked, and, in his own opinion, he was an authority upon many of the troublesome questions of the time.

Unfortunately he was conceited, indolent, and lacking in good judgment; and he was easily angered if any one opposed him. More serious still, he did not understand the new spirit of the English people, and had none of Elizabeth's sympathy and tact; none of her instinctive sense of what the people wanted. He was obstinate, never knew how to yield at the right time, and looked on one who differed with him as an enemy. Still more important were his views on kingship. He believed that his right to rule came from God alone — the *divine right of kings.* He did not defend an absolute monarchy, but he did assert that his power came from above and that parliament had no right to limit that power. In this view he was upheld by the legal opinion of his day and by the history of kingship up to that time.

248. The Position of Parliament. — Over against the king stood parliament, many members of which held a different opinion. They believed that the king should be to a certain extent dependent on parliament. Just as James did not believe in an absolute monarchy entirely independent of parliament, so parliament did not believe that it could exercise absolute authority in government. The majority of the members wanted a division of powers, part belonging to the king, part to parliament. Unfortunately they could not agree as to where the line should be drawn; and though the king had law and history on his side, parliament was aided by a growing dislike of the king's power, by discussions taking place at the time as to how the government should be conducted, and by the increase of the Puritan party which was very democratic in many of its political views.

249. First Quarrel with Parliament. — At the very beginning James came into conflict with parliament over this and other questions. He declared, in 1604, that the privileges of parliament were enjoyed only by the favor of the king, and that the members could not claim these privileges as their exclusive right. The particular privilege over which the dispute arose was the final control of the election of members in disputed cases. At once the House of Commons drew up a strongly worded *Apology* (June, 1604), defending the liberties of English subjects and denying each point made by the king. The Apology was never presented to the king, but is important because containing at this very early date a statement of the principles for which the House of Commons was to contend in its struggle with monarchy during the ensuing eighty-four years. "They did not ask for anything that was not in accordance with justice, and they did not demand a single privilege that was not necessary for the good of the nation as well as for their own dignity." In the years 1606–1610 disputes of such a kind arose that in 1610 the House of Commons endeavored to find out what was the nature of the king's authority and to reach an agreement on the points in dispute. For example, in 1609 James had raised money by levying a feudal aid (p. 79) when his son Henry was knighted. The outcry against this act was so great that parliament agreed to buy the king's feudal rights for £200,000; but the bargain fell through. Other disputes arose regarding the king's right to impose customs duties, to grant monopolies in trade, and to take for royal use a man's property, such as timber, provisions, and the like, even when he paid for what was seized. But no final agreement was reached in any of these matters.

250. James's Attitude toward Non-conformists. — Puritans and Roman Catholics looked forward with expectation to the coming of James, because they knew that he did not sympathize with the persecutions of Dissenters and Roman Catholics, which had been permitted by Elizabeth. But James very soon let it be known that he proposed to uphold the established

church. While on his way from Scotland to London, the Puritans presented to him a petition asking for certain moderate changes in the service and practices of the church.[1] This petition James refused and from this time forward the Puritans had little to expect from the king, and many left England, some of them to find their way to America.

Toward the Roman Catholics, James showed himself more tolerant. He aroused the hostility and suspicion of parliament by allowing his secretary of state, Robert Cecil, Lord Burghley's son, to bring to an end the war with Spain. In August, 1604, a treaty between England and Spain was signed in London. This treaty was very unpopular, partly because of the prevailing hatred of Spain and partly because in signing it the English government seemed to be deserting the Dutch who were still fighting for independence from Spanish rule.

James did not like the laws against the heretics passed under Elizabeth and in his opening speech in parliament, 1604, declared in favor of moderating these laws. But parliament instead of doing as the king wished made the laws more severe. It is possible that James would have executed the laws with mildness had not two or three plots at the beginning of his reign destroyed all hope of toleration.

251. Gunpowder Plot. — The most famous of these was the Gunpowder Plot of 1605. This plot was a scheme to blow up the houses of parliament by means of gunpowder placed in

[1] In answer to this petition James summoned a conference at Hampton Court where representatives of the Anglicans and Puritans held a lengthy but fruitless debate. One outcome of this conference was a proposal, by the leader of the Puritan party, for a new translation of the Bible. Forty-seven scholars were chosen from among the most learned clergymen and laymen of the day, and after nearly three years' work the separate parts were completed. In 1611 the new book was published. The language is simple and dignified, exhibiting many characteristic expressions and usages of that day, and containing a very large percentage of words of Saxon derivation. Probably no single book has had a greater influence upon the shaping of the English language than has the authorized version of the Bible. In 1911 was held a celebration of the three hundredth anniversary of its publication, and a special commemorative edition was issued reproducing the original form of the work.

the cellar vaults and so to destroy the king, his sons, and the members of both houses. The government made a great deal

GUY FAWKES'S LANTERN.

The poster behind the lantern contains a picture of the conspirators (beginning at the right, John Wright, Catesby, Guy Fawkes, Percy, Thomas Winter, Christopher Wright, Robert Winter, and a servant), a description of each, and a facsimile of the letter to Lord Monteagle. It is a copy of a very rare contemporary print. The lantern was presented to Oxford University by Robert Heywood in 1641.

of the plot, encouraging the general suspicion that it was part of a great Roman Catholic conspiracy. That it was so, however, has never been proved, but the immediate results were all that could have been desired. The leading conspirators, with Guy Fawkes, who did the work, were executed, and the laws against Roman Catholics were made much more severe. From this time toleration for Roman Catholics became

impossible, and the hatred of them felt during the century that followed may be traced to the impression that the Gunpowder Plot left on the minds of the English people.

252. Trading Companies: Settlement of Virginia. — The greatest interest of the period, so far as affairs outside of England were concerned, lay in the expansion of commerce and the beginnings of settlement in America. The promotion of commerce was the work of trading companies instead of private individuals, such as had conducted the voyages of exploration under Elizabeth. One of the oldest of these companies was the Merchant Adventurers (p. 178), which had been incorporated in 1564. But new companies entered the field and were duly chartered by the crown. They traded with Russia, and along the Baltic, with Turkey in the eastern Mediterranean, and elsewhere. Most important of these companies was the East India Company, trading with India, Persia, Arabia, and the islands in the Indian Ocean. Each company had a monopoly of its particular territory and was looked upon at this time as a public benefit, inasmuch as it not merely made money for itself, but also promoted the welfare of the state by taking out manufactured goods and bringing back coin or raw materials. By means of these companies of merchants, trade with all parts of the world increased and became a matter of so much importance to James that he extended their privileges and appointed committees at home to look after trade and commerce.

But not only for trade were companies organized. In 1606 two companies, the London Company and the Plymouth Company, were organized for purposes of colonization. Their charters authorized them to make settlements in North America, and the London Company started a settlement at once at Jamestown in Virginia (1607). After many struggles, the Jamestown colonists began to prosper, and to them is due the credit of having founded the first permanent English settlement in the New World.

253. The Spanish Marriage. — In 1612 Robert Cecil died, and also Prince Henry, the king's eldest and ablest son. A change

now took place in the character and policy of the king. James was always susceptible to the influence of favorites, and in 1616 took as his favorite and adviser George Villiers, later duke of Buckingham.

GEORGE VILLIERS, DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.
From a miniature at Windsor by Isaac Oliver.

Behind Villiers was working a powerful pro-Spanish party, the leaders of which were the Spanish ministers. James came very much under their influence, gradually became alienated from the Protestants, and finally agreed to a marriage between his son Charles and the Spanish Infanta. Notwithstanding its unpopularity, James persisted in this marriage because he needed the dowry of the Infanta to help pay his debts. In 1613 Elizabeth, the daughter of James, had married Frederick of the Palatinate in Germany, who, on the death of his father, became Frederick V, the head of the Protestant Union of Germany. In 1619 Frederick accepted the invitation of the Bohemian Protestants to become their king. As this acceptance meant war with the emperor, who had an hereditary right to the throne of Bohemia, James would naturally be expected to support his son-in-law; but if his son should marry a Spanish princess, and Spain should support the imperial cause in Germany, James would find him-

self in a difficult position, supporting Protestants and Roman Catholics at the same time.

As the king insisted on the Spanish marriage, Prince Charles and the duke of Buckingham went to Madrid in 1623 to complete the marriage treaty. The question was debated in the Spanish Council, where it was decided that the marriage could not be allowed, as it would complicate Spain's relations with the emperor in Germany. So Charles returned to England unmarried, and James, yielding to the insistence of Buckingham, parliament, and popular sentiment, turned from Spain and completely reversed his former policy by seeking the hand of the French princess, Henrietta Maria, for his son.

254. Further Relations with Parliament. — All this time James was hopelessly in debt. In 1614 he had been compelled to summon a second parliament, but as that body wished to discuss what it considered its grievances before it granted the king more money, James dismissed it at once. From 1611, therefore, when his first parliament had ended, to 1621, he ruled without parliament, and continued extending his expenditures and adding to his debts.

So complicated had his finances and his foreign relations become by 1621 that James called a third parliament. English parliament and people were aroused by the great Thirty Years' War in Germany, and were eager to help the Protestants there, who were fighting against the emperor aided by forces from Spain. When parliament convened, it began to find fault with the king for his double-faced foreign policy. James reprimanded it sharply for meddling "with anything concerning government or deep matters of state." Parliament in its turn considered this reprimand an infringement on the right of freedom of speech, and made a vigorous *Protest* (1621), recording in its journal a statement that freedom of speech was a privilege of parliament. Ten days afterward James sent for the journal, tore out the offending page, and then dissolved parliament. These events aroused great excitement in England. The Protest of 1621 supplemented the Apology

of 1604 (p. 253), and both anticipated the struggle which was to be fought out under the successor of James, his less practical and less trustworthy son, Charles.

255. Results of James's Reign. — In 1625 James died. His policy had everywhere proved a failure. In his desire for peace and the Spanish alliance he had sacrificed Ralegh, who had led an unsuccessful expedition to Guiana, and was executed in 1618 for attacking the Spanish there. He had refused to help his Protestant son-in-law in Germany, and had got into trouble with parliament. Yet in the end he had married his son to a French princess, and had declared war on Spain in 1624. By his views on monarchy and his tenacious adherence to his royal prerogative, he had turned parliament against him; and yet, in the end, had been forced to yield most of the points in dispute. Parliament successfully defended its privileges; secured the right to discuss affairs of state; overthrew monopolies; and, by impeaching Sir Francis Bacon in 1621 for receiving bribes, made good the principle that the ministers of the king ought to be held responsible for their acts. It was evident that the successor of James would have to be a conciliatory and tactful man if he were to avoid a conflict with the suspicious and discontented representatives of the people.

256. Charles I. — Charles I was personally more pleasing than James, and the fact that his reign opened with war against Spain made him for the moment popular. But Charles, by descent, was not an Englishman, and he never understood the English law or the English people. Gardiner, the historian of the Stuarts, says, "Born of a Scottish father and a Danish mother, with a grandmother who was half French by birth and altogether French by breeding, with a French wife, with German nephews, and a Dutch son-in-law, Charles had nothing in him in touch with that national feeling, which no ruler of England can afford to despise."

257. The Struggle with Parliament. — Charles had promised parliament in 1624 that, in arranging the terms of his marriage

with Henrietta Maria of France, he would not consider any proposition favoring the Roman Catholics of England. But

CHARLES I AND HIS WIFE.

From Van Voerst's engraving after a portrait by Van Dyck.

he broke his promise. Parliament desired the alliance with France, in order to carry on war with Spain, but it did not wish to make concessions to the Catholics. So when a new parliament was summoned (1625), trouble began. Charles asked for a large grant of supplies, and parliament showed its want of confidence in the king and Buckingham, by voting but a small amount of money for the war with Spain, and by settling upon the king the tonnage and poundage — that is, the customs duties — for one year only, instead of for life, as had been the practice hitherto.

The wisdom of parliament in so acting became apparent when the expedition of Buckingham against Spain ended in inglorious failure. The parliament of 1626 impeached Buckingham. But

the king refused to recognize their right, saying, "I must let you know that I will not allow any of my servants to be questioned among you, much less such as are of eminent place and near me." Again the question was debated as to whether or not the king's ministers were responsible to parliament. By impeaching Buckingham, parliament maintained that they were; but the king, in his message, maintained that they were not, and immediately dissolved parliament (1626).

The king's position was becoming exceedingly awkward. Charles had no money, for Parliament had been dissolved so hastily that a grant had not been made. Besides, having quarrelled with Louis XIII about the marriage treaty, he was in danger of becoming involved in war, not only with Spain, but with France also. He saw the need of desperate remedies, and between 1626 and 1628 used every device to raise money. He made illegal exactions of the customs revenues and planned a general assessment of all the people, just as if parliament had made a grant. When individuals refused to pay, he imprisoned them if rich, and if poor, impressed them in the navy or quartered soldiers upon them. But even these arbitrary methods failed to supply the king, and the need of money compelled him to summon a third parliament (1628). The new body was quick to seize its opportunity. Under the lead of Thomas Wentworth, afterward earl of Strafford, it at once appointed a committee of grievances, which drew up, after long debate and much difference of opinion between Lords and Commons, a declaration of the rights of the English people.

258. The Petition of Right. — At first the Commons tried to accomplish their purpose by drawing up a bill, defining the liberties of the subject, to be passed into law in the usual manner. But fearing that the king would not give his assent, because such law would bind him too much, they changed the bill to a petition — a petition of right, a remedy available to any one of the king's subjects at any time — enforcement of which in the courts was dependent on the king's word and not on the law of the land. Their object was to obtain from the

king a voluntary limiting of his prerogative in certain particulars, in order that the courts might in such cases interpret the law in favor of the petitioners. But to make their petition more impressive and to give it the solemnity of a bill, they caused it to be passed through the houses in the manner of a bill, and they demanded of the king that he give his consent in full parliament. This the king did, after some hesitation, on June 7, 1628. Thus the petition became a matter of permanent record, a circumstance which rendered it much more difficult for the king to refuse to carry out what he had promised.

The House of Commons had now gained a great victory. The king had given his word, in the most solemn manner possible, that neither he nor his officers, ministers, or the judges in his courts would henceforth do any one of the four things to which the House of Commons objected. He promised

(1) not to force money from the people by demanding loans, benevolences, or other exactions against their wills;

(2) not to commit any one to prison without showing a sufficient cause for doing so;

(3) not to billet soldiers and mariners upon the people, by compelling the inhabitants to take them into their houses and support them there; and

(4) not to exercise military or martial law in any part of England in time of peace.

259. The Parliament of 1629. — The passage of the Petition of Right was only a temporary compromise, for the king had no intention of yielding permanently. It marks the beginning of a great struggle on the part of parliament for a further limitation of the authority of the king and the church. Yet at this date an agreement might have been reached, for the best men of the House of Commons were anxious that king and parliament should work in harmony. But even before the close of the session of 1628, the harmony was broken. The king declared that he had the right to levy tonnage and poundage, that is, customs dues (see p. 185), without the

assent of parliament, but the latter, resting its case upon the word "tax" in the first clause of the Petition of Right, asserted that the levying of such dues would be a violation of the agreement. On the opening of the new session in January, 1629, a further deadlock arose over the king's assertion that the bishops had authority to interpret the meaning of the Thirty-nine Articles, and that all people must accept their interpretation. The king adjourned the house, but when the speaker sought to comply, a striking scene was enacted. A group of five members led by John Eliot held the speaker by force in the chair while a series of resolutions were adopted covering the points in question as a kind of appeal to the country against the king and the bishops. Immediately after this defiant action, the king dissolved parliament, and sent the five leaders to the Tower. There, after a confinement of three years, Eliot died, a martyr to the cause of parliamentary liberty (November, 1632).

260. The Personal Rule of Charles I (1629–1640). — Charles, having discovered that he could not work with parliament, determined to get along without it. For eleven years he governed England in the way that seemed to him best. He stood alone, for Buckingham had been assassinated by a discontented army officer named John Felton at Portsmouth, on August 23, 1628. His government was not all bad, as has too frequently been concluded, for it accomplished a great deal that was good for England; but the methods were bad and illegal, and brought the work of the king and his advisers into discredit.

During this period the chief advisers of the king were Wentworth and Laud, archbishop of Canterbury. Wentworth had been on the side of the House of Commons and was the real author of the Petition of Right, but he had soon found himself out of touch with Eliot and the Puritans. Satisfied with the correction of the abuses named in the Petition, in 1628 he had given his support to the cause of the king. Laud, the representative of the high church party among the Angli-

cans, had come into favor with the king, and was guiding his ecclesiastical policy. Neither Wentworth nor Laud desired anything but the good of England; but each was intolerant and uncompromising, and insisted that his system be applied without regard for the opposition it met on every side. The good that they did has been forgotten, and only the evil remembered.

261. The "Thorough" Policy of Wentworth and Laud. — Having been appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland in 1632, Wentworth undertook to reform the Irish system without regard for the private interests of any one. He attempted to bring order and efficiency out of chaos and corruption. He reorganized the army, suppressed pirates, enforced discipline, and encouraged manufactures and commerce. His motives were excellent, but his methods were questionable. He bullied the Irish parliament, fined juries that decided against him, abused Irish officials, and constantly interfered with the customs of the Irish tribes, particularly in the matter of their lands. Wentworth was a man of force and ability but without good judgment, and though for seven years he gave Ireland peace and order, he destroyed every vestige of self-government, and on his withdrawal in 1639 he left the island seething with discontent.

Meanwhile in England Laud was trying to do for the church what Wentworth was attempting to do for Ireland. Having definite ideas as to what the doctrine, ritual, and organization of the church should be, he was determined to force these ideas upon others. He harried Puritans and Presbyterians and all who by word or deed differed with him. After 1633, when he was made archbishop of Canterbury, he became "thorough" in the strictest sense of the word. He deserves credit in that he restored order and decency in the churches and ennobled the ritual. But, on the other hand, he persecuted Puritan divines, and imprisoned and mutilated writers who attacked the stage, court life, and church ceremonial. The excitement prevailing in England was intense, and Puritan emigration to America increased.

ATLANTIC OCEAN
IRISH SEA
Londonderry
LONDON-DERRY
DONEGAL
ANTRIM
Donegal
Omagh
Belfast
ULSTER
TYRONE
Donegal Bay
Ballyshannon
Enniskillen
DOWN
FERMANAGH
ARMAGH
MONAGHAN
Sligo
LEITRIM
SLIGO
CAVAN
Dundalk
MAYO
LONGFORD
LOUTH
R. Boyne
Drogheda
CONNAUGHT
ROSCOMMON
Kells
MEATH
WESTMEATH
GALWAY
Athlone
Killcock
Dublin
KINGS COUNTY
Tallaght
Dalkey
Galway Bay
DUBLIN
KILDARE
Rathmore
Ballymore
LEINSTER
QUEENS COUNTY
WICKLOW
Wicklow
CLARE
Kilkenny
Limerick
TIPPERARY
CARLOW
WEXFORD
R. Shannon
LIMERICK
KILKENNY
MUNSTER
Wexford
WATERFORD
Waterford
KERRY
Killarney
CORK
Cork
Kinsale
Bantry Bay
IRELAND
since 1500.
The Pale in Henry VIII's reign
" " " the period of the Stuarts
SCALE OF MILES
0 10 20 30 40 50
10° 9° 8° 7° 6°
55° 54° 53° 52° 51°
Longitude West from Greenwich

262. The King's Financial Measures. — Having no money by parliamentary grant, the king was forced to employ all sorts of financial expedients to raise it. The customs dues proving insufficient, he resorted to three other methods of raising money. 1. He revived old feudal obligations, and compelled every freeholder having land worth £40 a year to become a knight, or, in case of refusal, to pay a fine. 2. He sent commissioners to trace the boundaries of the "forests," and by enlarging these boundaries compelled all whose lands fell within the new limits to pay large amounts in order to obtain back their estates. 3. He sold to incorporated companies monopolies of coal, soap, starch, iron, gunpowder, tobacco, salt, and the like, thus injuring legitimate trade and increasing the cost of living. By the knighthood fines he estranged the well-to-do gentry; by enlarging the forests he offended the nobility and men of quality; by the sale of monopolies he made the lot of the wage-earners more burdensome.[1]

Finally Charles made a demand for ship-money, seeing in it "a spring and magazine that should have no bottom and an everlasting supply on all occasions." Formerly in time of war it had been customary to levy ship-money on the sea-ports; but the king's attorney-general, Noy, suggested that the practice be revived in times of peace. In 1634 the first levies were made on London and a few other ports; in 1635 a second levy was made, this time on the inland counties; in 1636 a third; and in 1637 a fourth. There was grumbling, but the majority of those assessed paid the tax. In 1636, however, John Hampden, a wealthy gentleman of Buckinghamshire, resisted payment, and the case was tried in 1637 before the judges of the Court of the Exchequer. Seven decided for the king, five

[1] The only classes not affected were the very poor and the unemployed. Both in Ireland and in England the government made exceptionally successful efforts to carry out the Poor Laws, and to relieve the poor from the oppression of the rich. The Privy Council enforced the Law of Apprentices, suppressed vagrancy, gave work to the unemployed, and protected the destitute. During the period from 1631 to 1640 there was more poor relief in England than at any other time in English history.

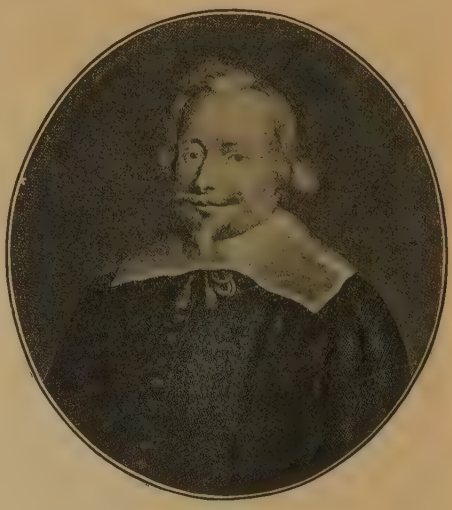
against. It was ominous that the majority for the king was only two, and that in the minds of the people the defenders of Hampden had the better of the argument.

263. The Scottish Revolt. — After such a victory for the king, parliamentary government seemed to be at an end. The Star Chamber (Privy Council, p. 183) and the High Commission Court seemed more powerful than ever. Men were summoned before these bodies for insufficient cause and were punished often harshly and unreasonably. Each year the action of the Privy Council became more oppressive, its orders more arbitrary, and its disregard of the rights of property, the liberty of the subject, and the independence of the law courts more intolerable. England was divided into two camps: on one side were the upholders of the privileges of parliament, the common law courts, the low churchmen, and the Puritans; on the other the upholders of the full royal prerogative, the supporters of the policy of the Privy Council, and the high churchmen.

Yet in this same year (1637) a movement began in Scotland which was to lead to the destruction of the system that the king, Wentworth, and Laud had so carefully built up. When Charles tried to extend Laud's ecclesiastical regulations into Scotland, all classes of the people — noblemen, barons, gentlemen, burgesses, ministers, and commons — resisted, and in March, 1638, signed the National Covenant, thereby supporting the reformed religion of Scotland. In an assembly held in Glasgow in November, 1639, they abolished Episcopacy and the prayer book altogether. The king, aroused by this defiant act, called Wentworth from Ireland to help coerce Scotland, at the same time creating him earl of Strafford (1640).

Strafford, knowing that Charles without army or money was in no condition to war against the Scots, advised the king to call a parliament and throw the responsibility of a decision upon its members. The king, glad to be relieved of the responsibility, accepted the suggestion, and on April 13, 1640, convened the first parliament that had sat in eleven years.

But this body, led by John Pym, a Somersetshire squire, showed that the position taken by it in 1628 and 1629 was unchanged, and Pym in a firm but conciliatory speech repeated the grievances of parliament. Charles, angry because parliament refused to grant supplies before grievances were redressed, dissolved it on May 5, after a session of only three weeks, and so threw away the last opportunity of friendly compromise. Two systems of government in church and state had come into conflict and the differences were seen to be irreconcilable.



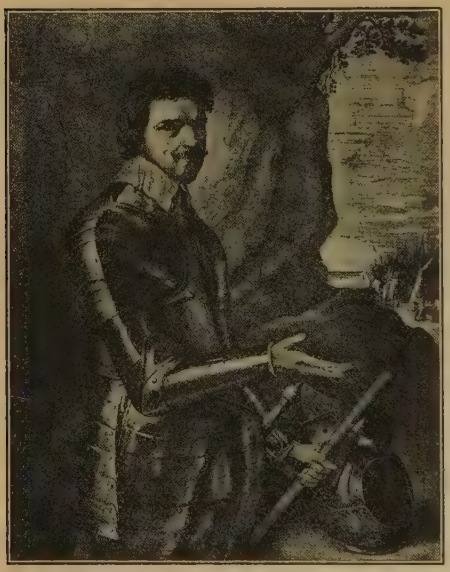
JOHN PYM.

From Houbraken's engraving after a portrait by Janssen in South Kensington Museum.

In Scotland the policy of "thorough" failed. A Scottish army invaded England, entered Newcastle, and nearly captured York. The king called a council of peers, but received only the advice to summon another parliament. There was nothing else for him to do. The Scottish army was in the northern counties. Strafford had not succeeded in forcing money from London, or even in borrowing it of Spain or the pope. People in the counties were resisting the payment of ship-money; the apprentices and journeymen were rioting in London. Under these circumstances were elected the men who, at Westminster, on November 3, 1640, assembled in parliament. A great crisis was at hand.

264. The Long Parliament. — The members of this new assembly came together with a grim determination to be, as Pym

said, "of another temper than they were the last parliament"; determined not only "to sweep the house clean below, but to pull down all the cobwebs which hung in the tops and corners, that they might not breed dust and so make a foul house hereafter." They had resolved to accomplish three things: (1) to release from prison those who had suffered from the king's arbitrary methods; (2) to punish the king's ministers and advisers; (3) to strengthen the constitution so that the arbitrary rule would be impossible hereafter.



THOMAS WENTWORTH, EARL OF STRAFFORD. From a copy of a lost portrait by Van Dyck.

First of all, therefore, political prisoners were released and welcomed to London by crowds of sympathizers. Then, on November 11, Strafford was impeached and sent to the Tower, and Laud likewise was imprisoned. The charge of treason would not hold against Strafford, for his acts had not been directed against the king. The House of Commons, therefore, changed the bill of impeachment to one of attainder, which called for no trial, and gave no opportunity to the accused to defend himself. To his shame, Charles signed away the life of his minister, to whom he had given the promise that he "should not suffer in life, honor or fortune." King as well as parliament was rendered cowardly by terror. On May 12,

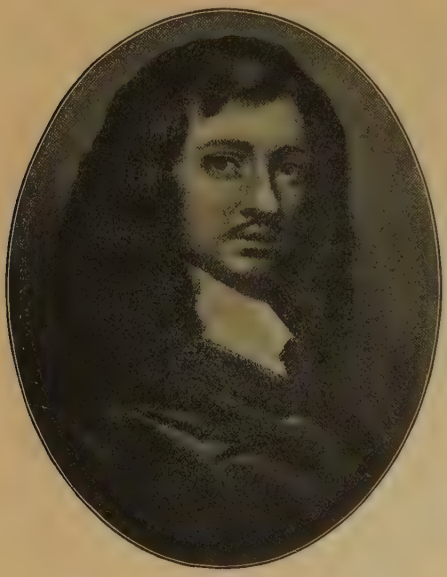
1641, Strafford was executed on Tower Hill, and four years later on January 10, 1645, Archbishop Laud met the same fate.

Meanwhile the attack on absolute government had begun, and in six weeks the revolution against the Stuart system was for the time being complete. The royal prerogative was shorn of many of its powers. Fearing lest Charles might prorogue or dissolve parliament, and again attempt to rule without it, the House of Commons passed the Triennial Act, which ordered that no more than three years should ever elapse without a summons of parliament. Another act forbade the king to dissolve the existing parliament without its own consent. The king, threatened with the cutting off of his subsidies, signed each act.

Parliament swept away the High Commission Court, the Councils of the North and of Wales, and took away the judicial powers which the Privy Council, sitting as the Court of Star Chamber, had exercised so oppressively. It made the levying of tonnage and poundage absolutely dependent on a parliamentary grant, and so settled finally the long dispute over the control of customs dues. It prohibited further tampering with the forest boundaries, forbade the exacting of fees for knighthood, and declared ship-money unlawful. Thus, the statute law was placed above the king, and extraordinary courts of justice were permanently forbidden. Henceforth the king must exercise his authority in accordance with the statutes and with the decisions of the common law courts. These reforms represent the greatest and most important work of the Long Parliament. In this work of adjusting the constitution the members acted with extraordinary unanimity, and step by step brought the constitution nearer the form it bears to-day.

265. Religious Differences. — But as soon as religious questions were brought forward the harmony in parliament disappeared. The conservative members — whom we may call the church party — preferred the Anglican system as it was, and were unwilling to alter the existing organization of the church. The other party, consisting of the extreme Puritans, that is to

say, the Presbyterians and Independents, led by Oliver Cromwell and Sir Harry Vane, were not satisfied and wished to abolish Episcopacy, that is, church government by archbishops and bishops. Thus, when parliament resumed its session in October, 1641, two parties were already forming in the House of Commons and the House of Lords: one believed that further change in the constitution was undesirable and that parliament should be content with what it had accomplished; the other wished to go farther. As mutual distrust arose and these parties began to drift farther and farther apart, the Puritans in a memorable sitting on November 8 presented for adoption a Grand Remonstrance, an appeal to the nation against the king.



Sir Harry Vane.

From an engraving of a miniature by Flatman in the Montagu House collection.

266. The Grand Remonstrance. — In this remonstrance all the members of parliament were called upon to commit themselves to the opinion of the extreme Protestants. The remonstrance demanded: first, that the king should select councillors of whom parliament could approve; and second, and more important still, that a synod of divines be called to reform the church. The church party might perhaps have accepted the first remedy, but it could not accept the second, because no

Anglican would trust an assembly of Presbyterian and Independent ministers to model the church as it pleased. When, finally, the roll was called it was found that the remonstrance had been carried by the narrow margin of eleven votes. "If the remonstrance had been rejected," said Cromwell, "I would

From an old engraving.

OLD HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT, WESTMINSTER HALL, AND WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

have sold all that I had and never seen England any more." For the extreme party it was a critical moment and a great victory. But it was also a deplorable victory, for it divided the nation into two camps, whose attitude toward each other became daily more hostile and irreconcilable.

267. Charles tries to arrest the Leaders. — The church party now went over to the side of the king. With every month the excitement increased and rumors went abroad that to save the crown and the church Charles was preparing to treat Pym and Hampden as Pym and Hampden had treated Strafford. That he had deliberately formed such a plan is doubtful, for it was his habit to act rather from impulse than design. Early in January he heard that the parliamentary leaders were resolved to impeach the queen, Henrietta Maria, as the cause of all the mischief. The chivalrous instincts of the king were aroused,

but he committed at this point an irretrievable blunder, by entering the chamber of the House of Commons, where, according to the privilege claimed by that house, the king was not to go.[1]

On January 4, 1642, Charles went in person, with four hundred soldiers, to seize Pym, Hampden, and three other leaders. The king's plan failed, for the leaders were warned in time, and made their escape. It is probable that he had not intended to act treacherously, but he was hopelessly in the wrong, for in violating the privileges of the House, he had committed an act which not only destroyed the faith of parliament in him, but rendered compromise impossible.

268. Immediate Causes of the Civil War. — The attempt to arrest Pym and Hampden was not the immediate cause of the war that followed. That is to be found in the struggle between the king and parliament to control the militia of the kingdom. Parliament, distrusting the king, passed a *militia bill* in March, 1642, which took from the king the appointment of the lord-lieutenants of militia and the governors of the fortresses of the kingdom. This bill the king refused to sign, and parliament determined to enforce it without the king's consent. Two months later (May) Charles forbade the trained bands to obey parliament, and issued commissions of his own, calling out the militia. Parliament, in its turn, appointed a committee of public safety, voted to raise an army, and named the earl of Essex as leader of its troops. It sent to the king nineteen propositions as a kind of ultimatum, and in these demanded the right to control the appointment of ministers, councillors, and judges; to manage home affairs, foreign affairs, the army and the navy, the church, justice, and, in short, all that concerned the government of the kingdom. But no king of that day would willingly have consented to such a curtailment of his powers, unless he had been absolutely compelled to do so.

[1] To-day the king's speech at the opening of parliament is made in the House of Lords, and the members of the House of Commons, headed by their speaker, attend the king there in order to hear what he has to say.

In spite of these political difficulties an agreement might still have been reached had it not been for the religious question. The dispute regarding political supremacy became tenfold more serious when its settlement threatened men with the loss of their religious liberties. The Puritans believed that the supremacy of the king meant the overthrow of their faith; the Anglicans believed that the supremacy of parliament meant the summoning of an assembly of divines to change the prayer book, and to reform the government of the Anglican church. No compromise between these views was possible.

269. Royalists (Cavaliers) and Parliamentarians (Roundheads). —England was divided into two opposing forces. A great majority of the House of Lords and a third of the House of Commons followed the king. Outside of parliament, the bulk of the gentry and landowners, the cathedral cities, and the university centres, like Oxford and Cambridge, were on the side of the king; while the inhabitants of the towns, the manufacturers, merchants, and artisans, were on the side of parliament. Though exact lines cannot be drawn, we may say that *socially* the nobility were on one side, the freeholders and yeomanry on the other; that *industrially* the landowners were on one side, the commercial and trading classes on the other; and that *geographically* the west and north stood for the king, against the more thickly populated regions of the south and east, which supported parliament. Yet, in fact, the history of the war shows family divided against family, town against town, district against district.

270. Beginning of the War. —Parliament had the advantage in money and other resources, because it controlled the navy and the leading sea-ports, and was supported by London and the rich manufacturing towns. But when the war began, the king was at first successful, because he had on his side the cavaliers and men-at-arms, whose profession was that of fighting. The battle of *Edgehill*, fought on October 23, 1642, resulted in a defeat for the parliamentarians. Hampden was killed in June, 1643, and by September parliament was suffi-

ciently discouraged to turn to Scotland for aid. In the *Solemn League and Covenant* parliament made a bargain with the Scottish Presbyterians, by which, in return for armed assistance, it promised to establish, if possible, Presbyterianism in England. But the great mass of the Independents, and Cromwell in particular, did not like this compromise with Presbyterianism. Cromwell advocated religious liberty, and he disliked not only the church system of the Presbyterians, but their intolerance, also. From the time that parliament entered into the Solemn League and Covenant with Scotland may be dated the beginning of a separation between the Presbyterians and Independents.

The first decisive battle of the war was fought on July 2, 1644, at *Marston Moor*. On one side were the Scots, the parliamentary army under Fairfax, and the cavalry of the eastern counties under Cromwell; on the other were the royalists under Prince Rupert, son of the king's sister Elizabeth, queen of Bohemia (see p. 257). The battle was long and for a time doubtful; but Cromwell's cavalry, the famous "Ironsides," won the day by their splendid discipline. The victory of Marston Moor gave to the parliamentarians the control of the north.

271. The New Model Army: End of the War.—A more important result of the battle was the prominence it gave to Cromwell, who from now on labored to increase the efficiency of the army. During the remainder of the year 1644 and the spring of 1645 an entire change was effected in the army organization. The soldiers were regularly paid, a rigorous discipline was introduced, and a high code of moral conduct was enforced. For officers Cromwell would not have politicians, gentlemen, or adventurers; he demanded men who were good fighters, and who were so strongly imbued with a love for the cause as not to be ready to make terms with the king after every failure. In compliance with the "Self-denying Ordinance," according to which no member of parliament was to hold command in the army, many old officers resigned

their positions. Sir Thomas Fairfax became commander-in-chief, with Cromwell as lieutenant-general, who, though a member of parliament, was retained because his services could not be dispensed with. Thus the army was not only inspired with religious fervor and ready to fight with faith in God and its cause, but was also well disciplined and splendidly led.

This fighting force was got ready none too soon, for in Scotland there appeared for the king a new ally, who was carrying all before him. The fiery young earl of Montrose, at the head of his Highlanders, had beaten down the Presbyterian leader, Argyle, the head of the Campbells, and was winning victory after victory with lightning-like rapidity. The Scottish army was therefore needed to fight Montrose at home; and upon the New Model Army of Cromwell fell the brunt of sustaining the war in England. On June 14, 1645, this splendid praying and fighting force won the battle of *Naseby* and crushed out the last hope that the king had of ultimate success. The war continued for a year longer, but ended with the surrender of Oxford to the parliamentarians on June 24, 1646.

272. The Independents and the Army.—After the church party withdrew from parliament, the Presbyterians were in the majority, and in a series of measures attempted to transform the church. They discarded the prayer book, introduced the famous Westminster Catechism, and ordered the abolition of Episcopacy and the establishment of Presbyterianism. But just as the church party had given way to the Presbyterians, so now the latter gave way to the more tolerant, but more anti-monarchical, body of Independents, who, though a minority in parliament, were the dominant factor in the army.

At the close of the first civil war in June, 1646, the army was master of the situation. To the consternation of the Presbyterian leaders, it refused to disband at the command of parliament, and at a meeting in a plain near Newmarket (June 4, 1647) issued a *Solemn Engagement of the Army*, saying that it would hold together until its demand of equal rights and common freedom for all should be granted. In August it voted that

parliament was too absolute and ought to come to an end, and at the same time it voted to impeach eleven members, who were considered responsible for the Presbyterian policy. Parliament, thoroughly frightened, yielded, and the eleven members withdrew from the House. At this juncture London rose in defence of the Presbyterian majority, and Cromwell, who had thrown in his lot with the army, occupied the city. The result was most important. As the royalists were excluded from parliament and as the army had compelled the Presbyterian leaders to with-

From a photograph.

CARISBROOKE CASTLE.

It was to this stronghold that Charles I fled from Hampton Court, November 11, 1647.

draw likewise, the old Long Parliament was beginning to lose its character as a representative body. Though it still called itself parliament, it represented the people of England only in name. The real power lay in the hands of Cromwell and the soldiers.

273. Second Civil War: Pride's Purge.—The leaders of the army now tried to negotiate with the king, who, since the beginning of 1647, had been confined first at Holmby House and later at Hampton Court. But their negotiations were prevented by

the escape of the king and his flight to Carisbrooke Castle in the Isle of Wight (November 11–14, 1647). To promote discord among the Puritans Charles opened negotiations with the Scots, who were dissatisfied with the behavior of the English parliament toward them. The king promised them religious concessions in return for military aid. The threatened danger of a Scottish invasion for the moment united parliament and the army against the king, and both sides prepared for war.

But party lines were no longer those of the earlier period; many who formerly fought against the king now went over to his side, fearing that the army wished to make changes in government much more radical than those made at the beginning of the Long Parliament in 1640–1641. Popular risings in the name of the king took place in Kent and Essex; the royalists rose in Wales; and in July, 1648, the Scots sent an army across the frontier to aid them.

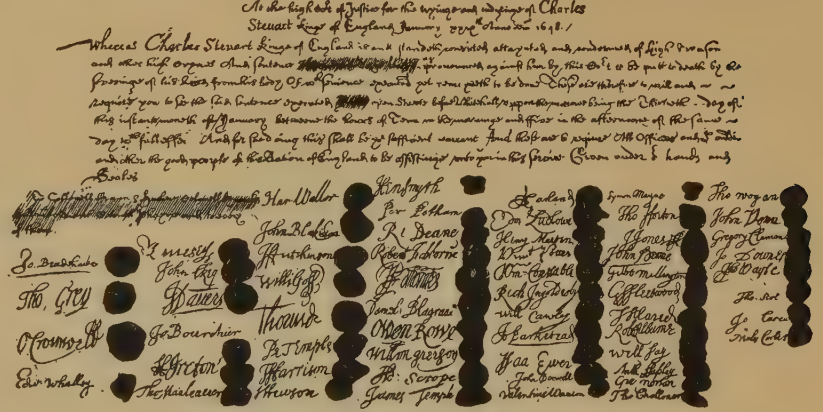
But the war was short. Fairfax, in a battle at Maidstone, June 2, 1648, put down the Kentish revolt, and by August, Cromwell, who had been sent into Wales, had not only starved into surrender the royalists in Pembroke Castle, but, hastening north, won the battle of *Preston* against the Scottish army. Ten days later, August 25, 1648, Fairfax ended the war by the seizure of Colchester in Essex.

The second civil war had decisive results. It embittered the army against the king and made it fierce, implacable, and vindictive. It made the leaders resolve "if ever the Lord brought them back again in peace, to call Charles Stuart, that man of blood, to an account for the blood he had shed and the mischief he had done to his utmost against the Lord's cause and people in these poor nations." When parliament, in which the majority was still Presbyterian, refused to break off negotiations with the king at the request of the army, Colonel Pride was sent to expel the Presbyterian majority from the House of Commons. Pride carried out his orders to the letter, and "purged" the House of the one hundred and forty-three Presbyterian members, leaving the Independents in control, December

The Warrant to Execute Charles I.

From a photograph of the original in the British Museum.

The black blots are seals. Notice Cromwell's signature in the left-hand column.



At the high Co^{rt} of Justice for the tryinge and iudginge of Charles Steuart kinge of England January xxixth Anno Dni 1648.

Whereas Charles Steuart King of England is and standeth convicted attaynted and condemned of High Treason and other high Crymes And sentence uppon Saturday last was pronounced against him by this Co^{rt} to be putt to death by the severinge of his head from his body Of w^{ch} sentence execucon yet remayneth to be done These are therefore to will and require you to see the said sentence executed In the open Streete before Whitehall uppon the morrowe being the Thirtieth day of this instante moneth of January between the houres of Tenn in the morninge and ffive in the afternoone of the same day wth full effect And for soe doing this shall be yo^{r} sufficient warrant And these are to require All Officers and Souldiers and other the good people of this Nation of England to be assistinge vnto you in this Service Given under o^{r} hands and Seales.

6, 1648. Thus the Long Parliament ceased to be representative in any sense of the word, and under the name of the Rump Parliament became only a partisan revolutionary committee, prepared to wreak its vengeance on the king.

274. The Execution of Charles I. — On January 6, 1649, the so-called parliament passed an act creating a high court of justice of one hundred and thirty-five persons, to try the king for attempting "to subvert the ancient and fundamental laws and liberties of the nation, introducing in their place a tyrannical and arbitrary government." Nearly half of the men named refused to serve, but the remainder, on January 21, 1649, proceeded with the trial. The king, denying the right of the court to try him, refused to plead and was condemned to death. On January 30 he was conducted to the scaffold erected outside of the banqueting hall of the palace of Whitehall, and there beheaded in the presence of the citizens of London. That he deserved punishment, no one can deny; but that he deserved such extreme punishment from a tribunal neither legal nor competent, certainly no one can affirm. The manner of his trial and his own composure and dignity at the scaffold raised him in the eyes of the people to the place of a martyr and overshadowed his real guilt.

275. The Commonwealth. — The Rump Parliament immediately appointed a council of state and voted to abolish the office of king, on the ground that it was unnecessary, burdensome, and dangerous to liberty. It abolished also the House of Lords as useless, and dangerous to the people of England. On May 19, 1649, to complete its work, it proclaimed the republic, or commonwealth; and on the great seal placed the legend, "In the first year of freedom by God's blessing restored."

From the monarchy of 1640 England had passed through reform and civil war to the republic of 1649. But Cromwell and the Independent leaders wanted no democratic republic. England was in no condition to make constitutional experiments; she needed a powerful governing body to meet the dangers that threatened her, and she found it in the Rump Parliament, which consisted of about one hundred men, and

From an old engraving.

View of Whitehall, looking from Charing Cross, with the Banqueting Hall in the centre and the Holbein Gate on the right. (Date about 1740.)

which had more actual power than ever had a Tudor or Stuart sovereign. A government controlled by such an absolute body was bound to be a kind of despotism.

276. The Republic becomes firmly Established. — The execution of the king excited a feeling of horror both at home and abroad. Never had such an event occurred in the history of Europe. The republic had not a friend among the foreign powers, and at home it was opposed by the royalists on one side and the democrats, or Levellers, on the other. Ireland was in revolt; Scotland had already proclaimed Prince Charles, son of Charles I, as her king; and the royalists of England were preparing to coöperate with the Irish and Scots. The moment was critical, for an invasion from Ireland or Scotland might lead to the overthrow of the republic.

The republic first turned its attention to the uprising in Ireland. On August 15, 1649, Cromwell landed in Dublin, and the Irish proved powerless in the presence of his well-disciplined and well-officered force. He seized by force Drogheda and Wexford and his lieutenants occupied many of the coast towns. Though the interior remained unsubdued he immediately set about restoring order and prosperity. He confiscated two-thirds of the Irish lands and settled English colonists upon them; he endeavored to suppress Roman Catholicism and to introduce Protestantism; and he undertook to administer justice impartially. Furthermore, he allowed Ireland free trade with England, and later admitted English colonists in Ireland to representation in the English parliament. But in the end his policy proved a failure in almost every particular.

In Scotland, where both government and royalists supported the claims of Prince Charles, Cromwell suppressed the uprising with force. At *Dunbar* (September, 1650) and *Worcester* (September, 1651) he crushed the Scottish army, and in so doing destroyed not only the hopes of Prince Charles and the Scottish royalists, but the independence of Scotland, also. General Monck, entering Scotland, completed the reduction of that

kingdom. Scotland was united to England, and later the Scots found representation in the English parliament. After many romantic adventures Prince Charles reached the Continent and took up his residence first in France and afterward in Germany and the Netherlands.

While Cromwell was winning victories on land, Blake, with the navy, swept royalist privateers from the seas. Special commissioners sent to America received the allegiance of Maryland and Virginia, both royalist colonies. The American colonies in New England were Puritan in origin and sympathy and not only remained loyal to parliament, but aided the commonwealth in its efforts against the Dutch. The successes of Cromwell and Blake relieved the republic of danger and raised immensely its prestige among the foreign powers.

JOHN MILTON.

From a miniature after Janssen in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

To the same end but in a different way worked the poet Milton, who accepted the office of secretary for foreign tongues to the council of state. Milton's remarkable command of the Latin language, in which dignified correspondence was carried on and formal treaties were written, did much to remove the feeling that England had fallen into the hands of coarse, unlettered zealots. There never had been a time in the history of England when so many

pamphlets and papers appeared, as after the downfall of the Star Chamber and the censorship of the press in 1641. In this era the modern newspaper begins, and among the pamphleteers Milton holds a high place for his writings in defence of the commonwealth and a free press.

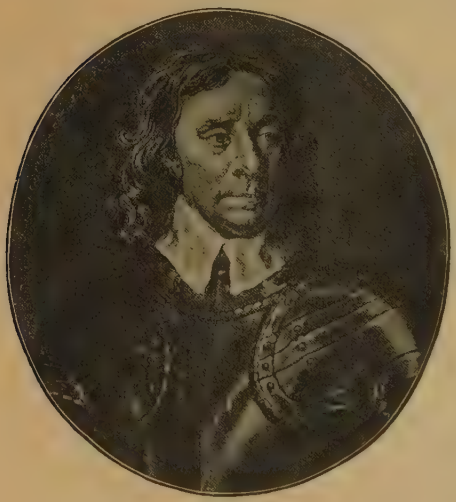
277. The Dutch War and English Commerce. — A very important part of the policy of England related to commerce and trade. The expansion of England under Elizabeth and James I had been checked by the civil war; and in the meantime Holland, freed from war with Spain by the truce of 1608, was rapidly becoming the mistress of the world's commerce. England's commercial leadership, therefore, demanded that the Dutch supremacy be overthrown.

Parliament began the attack on Dutch commerce in the famous Navigation Act of 1651, which provided that no goods of Asia, Africa, or America should be imported into England or any of her colonies except in ships owned and manned by Englishmen. This act put into the form of a general statute England's policy toward the colony of Virginia since 1630, a policy not always successfully carried out. The larger act led to war because Holland would not give up her trade without a struggle and England was determined to control her own trade herself. Besides this, the Dutch sympathized with the Stuarts because their stadtholder, William of Orange, had married Mary, the daughter of Charles I.

The war lasted a year (1652–1653) and was almost entirely a naval struggle, with Blake on one side and Admiral Von Tromp on the other. Blake won three naval victories in 1653, and this success so discouraged Holland, already suffering from disaffection and financial troubles at home, that she gave up the struggle. In April, 1654, a treaty was finally arranged by which England received compensation for injuries received at the hands of Dutch merchants, and Holland tacitly recognized the claims advanced in the Navigation Act. In the same year a treaty was signed with Denmark, which admitted England to the Baltic, and with Portugal, which strengthened England's

hold in India. Exactly how far the Navigation Act affected Dutch trade it is difficult to say, but from this period may be dated the decline of the commercial supremacy of Holland and the beginning of that of England. Cromwell's greatest achievement was to give England a prominent place in the commercial world.

278. The Incapacity of Parliament: the Protectorate. — The Rump Parliament and its Council of State had been nominally the ruling power, though the real power lay in the hands of Cromwell and the army. Cromwell began to grow impatient with the parliament, and charged it with neglecting its business, and with spending its time talking instead of doing. So on April 20, 1653, calling his soldiers, he drove out the members and locked the doors.



OLIVER CROMWELL.

From an engraving by John Faber.

After an unfortunate experiment with a gathering of selected "godly men," familiarly called "Barebone's Parliament," from one of its members, Praise-God Barebone, Cromwell accepted a written constitution drawn up by the officers of the army, called the *Instrument of Government* (1653), the only written constitution that England ever had. It provided for a head, the Protector, and for a parliament elected once in three years by all men possessing property worth £200. This high property qualification shows the army's distrust of the

mass of the people; it also shows that the Puritan idea of the "godly men" ruling the "ungodly" had passed away. The high-water mark of the Puritan revolution had been reached with the Barebone Parliament and the new system began the return to the old order of things. Cromwell was chosen Protector for life, and for six years thereafter the government of England was a Protectorate.

279. Cromwell's Work. — The ordinances which Cromwell and his council issued, dealing with the *reorganization and strengthening of the kingdom*, show the Protector to have been a statesman of large powers. He completed the union of England, Ireland, and Scotland, and worked out the representation of each county in the English parliament. He reorganized the treasury; reformed the penal code, by decreasing the number of crimes for which a man could be hanged; attempted to reform men's manners, by forbidding duelling, cock-fighting, horse-racing, and gambling, and by requiring a more fit observance of Sunday;[1] encouraged free schools, and strengthened the universities. Yet all the legal and constitutional measures of this period, having been adopted by a revolutionary government, find no place in the statute book of England.

More important, because more permanent, was his *foreign policy*. By this he sought to accomplish three things: (1) to protect and unite the Protestants of Europe; (2) to develop English commerce wherever possible; and (3) to thwart all attempts of the Stuarts to regain their throne. He found it difficult to arrange England's *relations with France and Spain*. These two Continental powers had been at war since 1635, and

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[1] "It was superstitious to keep Christmas or to deck the house with holly and ivy. It was superstitious to dance round the village Maypole. It was flat popery to eat a mince pie. The rough sport, the mirth and fun of 'Merry England' were out of an England called with so great a calling. . . . The long struggle between the Puritans and playwrights ended in the closing of every theatre."— GREEN, *Shorter History*. Yet it must be remembered that the Puritans had reason for many of these things. English social life had become in many respects coarse and debasing. Puritanism introduced a higher moral tone.

Cromwell was uncertain with which of them to make an alliance. France was supporting the Stuarts, and Spain was England's old-time enemy. In either case, Cromwell was determined to obtain advantages for England. Spain refused his demand that English merchants in Spanish ports should be free from the interference of the Inquisition, and that English colonists and traders should trade freely in the Spanish West Indies. So Cromwell sent a secret expedition under Admiral Penn, William Penn's father, to the West Indies, and tried to extend England's colonial empire by annexing Spanish islands and cutting off Spanish trade. At the same time he sent Blake into the Mediterranean to win respect there for the English flag. The expedition under Penn failed in its object, only Jamaica being captured. Blake, however, entered on a career which is only equalled by that of his great predecessor, Drake. In 1655, when Spain, thoroughly aroused, declared war against England, Blake captured a Spanish treasure-fleet, and sent to England over £600,000 in gold and silver. Shortly afterward he destroyed sixteen Spanish galleons in the harbor of Cadiz.

These events made inevitable an alliance between England and France, and on March 23, 1657, a treaty was signed. Cromwell cannot be said to have shown great foresight in making an alliance with France against Spain, for he aided thereby a growing state that was destined to be the greatest of England's rivals in the years to come. In his commercial and colonial policy he accomplished his grandest work; for by making treaties of commerce, breaking the commercial supremacy of the Dutch, winning a foothold in Jamaica in the West Indies, and endeavoring to colonize that island, he laid the foundations not only for England's leadership in commerce, but also for her great colonial empire.

280. Experiments in Government (1654–1658). — Cromwell tried a great many ways of governing England, but he did not succeed very well with any of them. As we have seen, he got rid of the Rump Parliament in 1653, and substituted for it the Barebone Parliament in the same year. But that experiment

failed, and in 1654 he accepted a constitution, the *Instrument of Government*, and tried to work with a parliament elected under the provisions of that constitution. But this parliament, composed mostly of Presbyterians and moderate Independents, insisted on amending the constitution; whereas Cromwell felt that it was their business not to waste time talking about a new constitution, but to govern England as well as possible with the constitution they already possessed. So in January, 1655, he dismissed parliament altogether, and until September, 1656, governed without it, but in strict accord with the constitution.

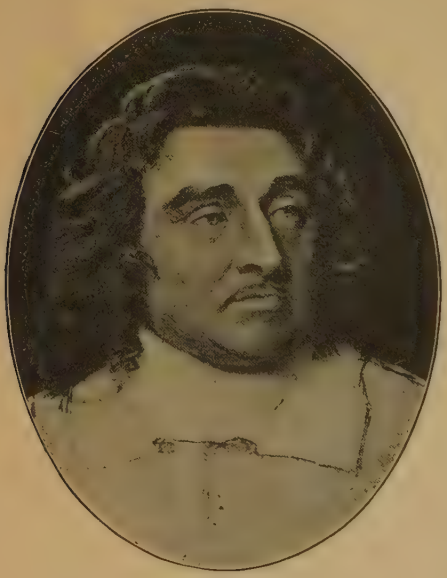
Need of money compelled Cromwell to call another parliament in January, 1657. By this body an address was adopted, known as the *Humble Petition and Advice*, asking Cromwell to accept a new constitution and to assume the name and office of king. Cromwell rejected the royal title, but accepted the new constitution, and in so doing helped to bring England back to the form of government which she had had before 1649. The office of Protector was kingly in all but name, and for the former legislative body of but one chamber was substituted an upper and a lower house. These two houses came at once into conflict over the question as to whether or not the upper house should be called a House of Lords; and Cromwell, growing angry because of the dispute, put an end to the parliament, on February 4, 1658.

This was the last of the Protector's experiments in constitutional government. Had he lived, he undoubtedly would have persevered in the attempt to establish a stable government. There is no doubt that he intended to call a new parliament which in the prevailing sentiment of the country must have been monarchical in sympathy. It is far from impossible that had he lived, he would himself have assumed the title of king. But on September 3, 1658, the anniversary of Dunbar and Worcester, he died, worn out with anxiety, care, and family affliction.

281. Cromwell's Place in History. — Cromwell's work was finished. By his genius as a soldier, he had checked the absolutism of the Stuarts and had brought England, a compact and united state, out of the dangers of the civil war. By his vigor

as a statesman, he had raised England's prestige abroad and had prepared the way for the greater England that was to come. At home he had fought for liberty of conscience, had set before the people a high standard of morals and justice, and had effected a union of Scotland and Ireland with England. In these three particulars his ideals found little support in the reaction that followed, though they were destined to become in the end a part of England's inheritance.

But in the highest sense of the word Cromwell cannot be called a really great statesman because he did not plan consistently for the future. He seized each occasion as it arose, and in meeting difficult situations often showed statesmanlike instinct. He set precedents of great worth to England, concerning toleration, representative government, law, and justice; but in no one particular was he able to carry his work to completion. He might have established in England an orderly system of government, had he lived, but his death left his work unfinished. Much that took place during his administration of England in the field of commerce and the colonies was the work of others, due to the demands of business and trade, and to the naturally energetic and adventurous char-



General Monck.

From a miniature by S. Cooper in the collection of the King.

acter of the English people. It is to Cromwell's credit that he generally approved of these efforts, though it is doubtful if he ever had a true appreciation of their significance for England's future.

282. The Restoration of the Stuarts. — Cromwell was succeeded by his eldest son, Richard. But Richard Cromwell was wholly incompetent to meet the difficult situation; and in May, 1659, the army officers, united with the extreme republicans, forced him to abdicate, and restored the Rump Parliament. This body at once came into conflict with the army that restored it. Then General Monck, who commanded the army in Scotland, took matters into his own hands, marched to London, and forced the Rump Parliament to admit again the Presbyterian members whom Pride had driven out in 1648. He then demanded that this restored parliament should vote its own dissolution and issue writs for the summoning of a *convention*, to be fairly and freely elected by all who had the right to vote. Thus Monck not only saved England from anarchy and possibly a third civil war, but he made it possible for the kingdom to return peaceably to constitutional government.

The form that this government took was bound to be monarchical. Men cannot change their institutions suddenly and expect such changes to be permanent. The reforms which the Long Parliament made in 1640 and 1641 were necessary because the personal rule of Charles I was dangerous to the peace and contentment of the greater part of the people of England. But the changes made by the Rump Parliament in 1649 were revolutionary and could not last. Even under the Commonwealth a majority of the English people was in favor of a return to the former system of government, and as soon as Englishmen had a chance to express their opinion freely they showed that they did not like Cromwell's experiments. The forms and methods of government are a natural growth and cannot be changed suddenly. If they are so changed by force, they will always in the end return to a condition very much

like that which had existed before the revolution took place. One reason why England has such a strong constitution is that she has had very few revolutions.

283. The Convention. — The Convention, composed of the moderate men of all parties, attempted to set in order the political and religious affairs of the nation. It invited Charles II to return, thus restoring the monarchy; it disbanded the army of the commonwealth, thus getting rid of a body that had threatened to become an instrument of tyranny; and it proclaimed a general pardon, except for the judges who had condemned Charles I. But it showed its spirit of reaction and revenge by putting to death thirteen of the judges, and by ordering the body of Cromwell to be torn from its grave in Westminster Abbey and hanged at Tyburn.

CHARLES II AS A BOY.

From a miniature by John Hoskins in the Montagu House Collection.

Exceedingly difficult to settle were the questions relating to land, the revenues, and the church. The Convention returned to the king the lands of the crown, and gave back to the church and the royalists such lands as they had not sold of their own accord. It performed its greatest act when it abolished feudal tenures, for thereafter every man held his land by an oath of fealty and the payment of a fixed rent. This new system did

away with all feudal incidents, aids, and obligations, and contributed more to England's progress than did any other act of the period. The Convention found it impossible to settle the church question. An attempt was made to effect a sort of compromise between the Episcopal and Presbyterian systems, but nothing came of it; for Charles II, who returned to England on May 25, 1660, dissolved the Convention in the following December, before it had completed its work.

284. Character of the Reign of Charles II. — Charles was now king of England, but his position was very different from that occupied by his father and grandfather. He had been restored by the nation to the throne, which legally he had occupied since 1649; during the twenty years preceding his restoration the nation had learned many lessons regarding kings. They were determined that Charles should reign in no other way than according to the constitution as it had been shaped by the important reforms of 1641. But the question as to whether the sovereign power lay in the king or in the parliament of the nation had not yet been settled. To escape anarchy the people welcomed Charles to his throne; but politically this was only a compromise, an experiment to prove whether or not a Stuart could be a constitutional king. By tact and shrewdness Charles II was able to postpone the settlement of the problem and to reign over England for twenty-five years.

285. Reaction: the Cavalier Parliament. — After Charles had dissolved the Convention, writs were issued in due form in the king's name for the summons of a regular parliament. This parliament was even more royalist than the king himself. For the most part Charles was inclined to be tolerant, but the Cavalier Parliament had scarcely met when it made a savage attack on the Puritans and their religion, and in December, 1661, began its double work of persecuting the Non-conformists (p. 253) and of reëstablishing the Anglican church by the following acts.

1. *Corporation Act.* In May, 1661, all persons holding office in the towns, where the Puritans were most numerous, were re-

quired to renounce the Solemn League and Covenant (p. 274), and to take the sacrament according to the rites of the Anglican church. 2. *The Act of Uniformity.* A year later every clergyman was required to use the prayer book, under penalty of losing his position. 3. *The Five Mile Act.* In 1665 all clergymen who had not obeyed the Act of Uniformity — and there were some two thousand who had not done so — were forbidden to come within five miles of any city or corporate town. These acts were generally ascribed to the king's chief adviser, Sir Edward Hyde, earl of Clarendon, and are therefore usually known as the Clarendon Code; but though Clarendon made it his object to affect the restoration of the Anglican church and to suppress all that remained of Puritanism, he was no more responsible for these acts than was any other member of the Anglican party in the Cavalier Parliament. These acts, which show that parliament could be as intolerant as any king in the past, were the last measures of the kind in English history.

But the reaction was not limited to matters of religion. During the reign of Charles II there was prevalent a desire to reverse all that had been done during the period of the Puritan supremacy, and to break away from the soberness and gloom of the Puritan epoch. Men and women became gay and pleasure loving. Taking their cue from the fashions of the French court, where many had lived during the exile, they changed their books, their dress, their manners, and their speech. At court and in society French customs prevailed; vice and profligacy increased; scepticism became fashionable; gambling, card-playing, and drinking became habits of everyday life. Yet, at the same time, it must be remembered that among the mass of the people in towns and country sobriety and right living prevailed.

286. Parliament's Conflict with the King. — Not only were the members of the Cavalier Parliament eager to persecute the Nonconformists, but they were also determined to retain all the political advantages that their predecessors had won and to exercise the parliamentary privilege of criticising the king's

policy and of controlling the king's actions. Certain events that occurred after 1662 had made them suspicious of the king and led them to doubt his loyalty to England.

In the first place, parliament did not look with favor on the king's marriage in 1662 with Catherine of Braganza, a Portuguese princess. It was angry when Charles sold Dunkirk in the Spanish Netherlands to the French king in the same year, and looked with distrust on the extravagances of the king's court and the profligate character of his life. In the second place, parliament blamed the king and Clarendon for the mismanagement of the Dutch war of 1665, which began auspiciously, but which brought in the end much trouble and humiliation to England.

287. War with Holland. — In 1664 England, jealous of the growth of Dutch commerce, which the act of 1651 had failed to destroy, had attacked the Dutch colonists in Africa and in New Netherland in America, where a Dutch settlement separated the English colonies in New England from those in Maryland and Virginia. Louis XIV, king of France, glad to see two Protestant and rival powers fighting each other, encouraged the Dutch in the war, and for two years it dragged on with varying fortune.

In 1666 London was visited with a great plague and a great fire, both of which caused extraordinary loss and confusion. The Dutch, taking advantage of these conditions, sent a fleet up the Thames. It entered the Medway, burnt the English fleet, and blockaded London. This humiliating incident led to an early peace, and in July, 1667, the treaty of Breda was signed. Holland, divided by factions and alarmed at the grasping policy of Louis XIV, made favorable terms with England and gave her New Amsterdam in America (later called New York in honor of the king's brother James, duke of York) in return for the undisputed possession of the Spice Islands in the Indian Ocean.

288. Fall of Clarendon. — Since 1660 Clarendon had been the chief minister of the realm; but in becoming lord chancellor he had not realized how much England had changed since the

days when he sat as Edward Hyde in the Long Parliament. Parliament held him responsible for the sale of Dunkirk, for the burning of the English ships in the Medway, and, in general, for bad government and the misuse of funds. Charles II did nothing to save his minister; for he did not like Clarendon's stern uprightness, and was rather glad than otherwise to be rid of a minister who criticised his immoral life and who had no sympathy with his desire to tolerate Roman Catholics and Dissenters. So in 1667 Charles dismissed Clarendon, and in the same year parliament impeached him, though he had already fled from England.

289. Financial Difficulties of Charles II: Intrigues with France. — England had fallen into a wretched financial condition. The Dutch war had shown there was not enough money in the treasury to run the kingdom. It is commonly said that Charles II spent the money that parliament allowed him on favorites and mistresses, but this assertion has been disproved by a study of the financial records of this period. In truth, Charles and his treasurer, the upright Southampton, did not have money enough to pay the regular expenses, because the sums voted by parliament could not be collected, and the receipts never actually equalled the amount, small enough at best, that parliament was willing to allow the king. The king had to make up the deficit in various ways. He turned into the treasury the dowry which his Portuguese wife brought him, as well as the money received from the sale of Dunkirk. He sold the crown lands and tried to help with the funds received. He borrowed money of private persons, promising to pay when the supplies granted by parliament came in. But all these devices proved of very little avail. So in 1668 Charles began secret negotiations with Louis XIV, hoping thereby to fill his treasury.

Charles was willing to treat with Louis (1) because England's rivalry with Holland was as keen after the treaty of Breda as before; (2) because, as he declared, he sympathized with Roman Catholicism and wished to bring England into close touch with the Catholic countries of the Continent; and

(3) because he and his treasurer had been unable to meet the deficit in the treasury. Commercial, religious, and financial reasons underlay these unpatriotic and secret negotiations with Louis XIV, which ended in the secret treaty of Dover, June 1, 1670. In return for a cash payment of £200,000, and more in the event of actual war, all of which was used to pay the daily expenses of the government, the king promised to aid Louis against the Dutch and to acknowledge himself a Roman Catholic. The financial bankruptcy of England must be held in part responsible for this disgraceful treaty, and parliament was responsible for the bad state of the finances.

290. The Test Act. — Even to carry out this agreement with Louis, Charles did not openly declare himself a Roman Catholic, and it is not even certain that he was really serious in his assertion to Louis XIV that he was one. He did, however, issue a declaration of indulgence, releasing Non-conformists — Roman Catholics and Dissenters alike — from the operation of the Clarendon Code. But the pro-Anglican parliament was growing suspicious and compelled Charles to withdraw the declaration in 1673. Then it passed in the same year a *Test Act*, which declared that all who held office under the crown should receive the sacrament according to the rites of the Anglican church. In passing the act, parliament rebuked the king, and caused all Roman Catholics to withdraw from office. The king's brother James, duke of York, resigned the office of lord high admiral. Furthermore, the war with the Dutch became increasingly unpopular, as the people realized that England was being made a mere cat's-paw by France. Anthony Ashley Cooper, who had been created earl of Shaftesbury in 1672, and who, since the fall of Clarendon, had been closely associated with the king, was dismissed from office.

291. The Exclusion Bill: Whigs and Tories. — Shaftesbury, after his dismissal, became the leader of the opposition, consisting chiefly of Dissenters, who believed it was lawful for parliament to compel the king to do what parliament and the people thought he ought to do. Led by Lord William Russell

in the House of Commons and by Shaftesbury in the House of Lords, the opposition directed an attack upon the duke of York, an avowed Roman Catholic, in order to prevent his succession to the throne. To this end an *Exclusion Bill* was drafted, but Charles prevented its passage by dissolving parliament. Another parliament was elected (October, 1679), but after it had met, the king, hoping to embarrass his opponents, prorogued it, and it did not finally assemble until October, 1680. The nation was dividing into two great parties whose struggles were to constitute party history in later times. Those who wished to exclude the duke of York from the succession and petitioned the king to summon parliament that an exclusion bill might be passed, were called the Petitioners, or *Whigs;* those who believed in the doctrine of the divine right of kings and the right of the duke of York to succeed were the Abhorrers, because they expressed their abhorrence of the attempt to coerce the king and to exclude the duke, and they were nicknamed *Tories.*[1] Shaftes-

MARY, DAUGHTER OF JAMES II.

From a miniature by Netscher in the Welbeck Abbey Collection.

[1] The terms *Whig* and *Tory* were nicknames; the former from Whiggamore, a Scottish Presbyterian; the latter from a term given to a class of Irish bog-trotters, or outlaws, who were Roman Catholics.

bury, the leader of the Whigs, weakened his cause by bringing forward the duke of Monmouth, an illegitimate son of Charles, as the king's successor, and by denying the claims of Mary, the daughter of James, who, as a Protestant and the wife of William of Orange, was popular with the nation. Charles saw his opportunity and quickly took advantage of it. He upheld the cause of his brother, the duke of York, refused to consider for a moment the claims of the duke of Monmouth, and when the opposition became violent, dissolved his parliament and refused to call another. A clever manipulation of parties, and the violent measures and quarrels of his opponents gave the victory to the king.

292. The Colonies under Charles II. — While Whigs and Tories were in conflict at home England was making great strides in the world of commerce abroad. The Stuarts, whatever may have been their views on government, had definite ideas regarding the growth of England's colonies and commerce; for they saw in both of these an opportunity to increase the revenues of the crown. In 1663, by the grant of Carolina to Clarendon and others, Charles had planted a new colony in America. In 1662 and 1663 he had transformed the colonies of Connecticut and Rhode Island into corporations, by charters that gave these colonies legal recognition and a true land title. In 1664 he had granted to his brother, the duke of York, the province of New Netherland, the region between New England and Maryland, and, at the conclusion of the war with the Dutch, had obtained a confirmation of England's title to the territory. In the same year the duke of York granted to Berkeley and Carteret that portion later known as New Jersey. Finally, in 1681, almost at the close of the reign, Charles completed a splendid work of colonial expansion by granting to William Penn the province of Pennsylvania. This territory was given to Penn in honor of his father, Admiral Penn, and in recognition of an unpaid loan of £11,000, which the admiral had made to the king.

Thus before the close of the reign of Charles II there existed

nine colonies on the continent of America, forming a continuous line of settlements along the Atlantic coast.

293. Trade and Commerce. — Various councils and commissions to deal with trade had been appointed by the early Stuarts and by Cromwell, but under Charles II and his successors the first successful attempt was made to deal adequately with commerce and the colonies. This attempt had two features: first, the appointment of various councils and committees to look after trade and the plantations, the most famous of which came later in 1696 and was known as the Board of Trade (1696 to 1782); second, the passing of three Navigation Acts, in 1660, 1663, and 1673. These acts had as their objects (1) to promote English shipping by requiring that all ships trading with England must be owned by Englishmen, and the master and three-fourths of the seamen must be English; (2) to increase the revenue and resources of England by requiring that certain colonial commodities not produced in England should be brought there from the colonies before being taken anywhere else; and (3) to prevent the colonies from trading directly with the Continent by requiring that all goods from European countries destined for the colonies should first pass through English ports. These acts remained in force for more than a century and a half (till 1849).

Thus England entered upon a new career as a commercial and colonial power. Her revenues increased, her shipping was extended, her colonies became her source of supply for those raw materials that she could not produce at home. Her manufactures, notably of woollen cloth, increased rapidly and were sent over to her colonies in exchange for the raw materials that the colonies were encouraged to send to her.

294. Constitutional Progress. — The reign of Charles II is noteworthy as an era of important advances in constitutional and legal matters. The king, though still possessing large powers, had ceased to be absolute, for no king henceforth would dare attempt to govern without parliament. The arbitrary imposition of taxes was at an end. The House of Com-

mons was holding the king's ministers responsible for the king's acts and was already inquiring into the way in which the king was spending the money granted him. The beginnings of cabinet government can faintly be seen. High Commissions and Star Chambers were institutions of the past; jury trial was henceforth free and little liable to interference from either king or nobility; and, most important of all, a Habeas Corpus Act was passed (1679), which declared that no man should be kept in prison for an indefinite length of time without a trial. The press was not free, as a rigid censorship had been imposed in 1662 which did not cease for more than thirty years.

JAMES II.

From an engraving by Peter van Gunst.

295. James II. — In February, 1685, Charles died and was succeeded by his brother, the duke of York, as James II. The latter was a far abler man than his brother, the late king, and had he been possessed of a little of the latter's shrewdness and tact, he might have succeeded well as a ruler. He was persistent and industrious, loyal to his word and his friends. He had had considerable experience with matters of business and government, having been head of the admiralty till 1673, and regent in Scotland during the last years of his brother's reign. But like his father, Charles I,

he was narrow-minded and intolerant, obstinate and merciless, and always failed to understand the sentiments of his people until he had gone too far in his course to withdraw. While Charles II had been able not only to steer his way safely for twenty-five years, but even to prove himself in the end a stronger king than he had been at his accession, James succeeded in bringing matters to a crisis after a reign of less than three years.

His failure is the more remarkable, inasmuch as he became king when circumstances were favorable to him; when the Whigs were discredited; when the bulk of the nation, resenting the extreme measures of Shaftesbury and his associates, were ready to give a Stuart, with a reputation for honesty, a fair trial. In three short years these conditions were exactly reversed, a result for which the king himself was wholly responsible.

James, Duke of Monmouth.

From an engraving by Blooteling after a portrait by Sir Peter Lely.

296. Monmouth's Uprising: the Bloody Assizes. — James began well. He promised "to preserve the government as by law established." Parliament, composed of members who owed their election to the influence of the government, proved highly favorable to the king, and made large grants of supplies. Matters seemed to be prosperous both for the Tory party and

ENGLAND
From 1603
SCALE OF MILES
0 10 20 40 60 80
SCOTLAND
NORTH SEA
IRISH SEA
ENGLISH CHANNEL
FRANCE
Bristol Channel
Berwick
Alnwick
Newcastle
Durham
Carlisle
Whitby
Scarborough
Lancaster
Liverpool
Manchester
Leeds
Hull
Wakefield
Chester
Sheffield
Gainsborough
Lincoln
Boston
Nottingham
Derby
Stafford
Shrewsbury
Birmingham
Leicester
Stamford
Peterborough
Lutterworth
Coventry
Kenilworth
Naseby
Northampton
Worcester
Hereford
Edgcott
Bedford
Cambridge
Ipswich
Norwich
Lynn Regis
Castle Rising
Yarmouth
Gloucester
Stow
Oxford
Hitchin
Colchester
Rye House
Circencester
St. Albans
Chelmsford
Maldon
Chelsea
Harnet
London
Greenwich
Windsor
Reading
Wallingford
Bristol
Bath
Newbury
Hampton
Darford
Croyden
Rochester
Canterbury
Maidstone
Folkstone
Dover
Guildford
Seven Oaks
Winchester
Salisbury
Southampton
Chichester
Lewes
Hastings
Brighton
Portsmouth
Exeter
Dorchester
Weymouth
Exmouth
Teignmouth
Torquay
Dartmouth
Launceston
Truro
Penzance
Land's End
Milford
Carmarthen
Swansea
Cardigan
Aberystwith
Dolgelly
Denbigh
Carnarvon
Bangor
Anglesey
Isle of Man
Longitude West from Greenwich
Longitude East

for the king. But the Whigs, though beaten and exiled, were by no means in despair. Under the leadership of the duke of Monmouth they attempted to recover their power. In June, 1685, Monmouth landed in Dorset, and his venture at first gave promise of success. But though romantic and dashing, he was incompetent and cowardly. He got into trouble with his colleagues, wasted valuable time, and when at last he was ready to act, found the king's troops strongly intrenched against him. At Sedgemoor, July 6, 1685, he was defeated. He fled from the field of battle only to be captured and taken to London, where, begging piteously for life, he was beheaded.

Monmouth deserves little pity, for, in all probability, he would have made a worthless king. But the punishment inflicted on his followers, the too faithful friends of an undeserving leader, stirs the soul to wrath. Many were seized and hanged on the spot, while scores of others were thrust into jail to await the coming of the justices. Jeffreys, the chief of the justices, though no worse than others of his time, aroused public horror because of the enjoyment he took in the work of the *Bloody Assizes*. He badgered, bullied, and sneered at his prisoners, and carried out a cruel law in a cruel manner. Three hundred prisoners were hanged, eight hundred were transported as slaves to the West Indies to endure a living death, while hundreds of others were flogged and imprisoned.

297. Consequence of the Rebellion: the Roman Catholic Policy of James. — The failure of the Monmouth rebellion gave new strength to the government, and the ease with which it was suppressed led James to entertain false ideas of his own power. He believed that the time had come when he could reestablish Roman Catholicism in England, and he hoped to carry out his plan by exempting Roman Catholics from the laws, passed during the reign of Charles II, against liberty of conscience and freedom of worship. So in November, 1685, when parliament reassembled, James demanded the repeal of the Test Act (p. 295). Parliament probably would not have repealed this act under any circumstances; but its determination

not to do so was strengthened by the fact that Louis XIV, only a short time before (October 18, 1685), had revoked the Edict of Nantes in France, driving from that country thousands upon thousands of Huguenots. Though a Tory body and friendly to the king, parliament rejected the king's proposal.

Angry and disappointed, the king prorogued parliament and undertook to obtain his end in another way. Claiming the right as sovereign to grant special dispensation to any one who had broken a law, he at once applied this claim to the Test Act, and appointed Sir Edward Hales, a Roman Catholic, to a colonelcy in the new army, following this with other appointments, till Protestant England was confronted not only with the overthrow of its constitutional liberties, but also with a possible Roman Catholic control of the government. Encouraged by his success, James applied his policy to the affairs of the church. For trifling offences he removed clergy of the church of England and put Roman Catholics in their places. He received the papal nuncio in 1687 — the first legate in England since Mary's reign — and conferred on him distinguished honors. He openly encouraged the Roman Catholics by authorizing the founding of schools and monasteries, and by encouraging them to issue pamphlets and books defending their faith. These many measures had their effect. The English people saw Roman Catholicism gradually creeping over the land. Tories, who hitherto had been devoted to the king, began to see that, by supporting the Stuarts and defending the doctrine of passive obedience, they were encouraging the success of the Roman Catholic cause, which they hated more than they did that of the Whigs.

298. The Declaration of Indulgence: Opposition of the Bishops. — In 1687 James took a new step. Having asserted his right to *dispense* with the law (the Test Act) which excluded Roman Catholics from office, he now asserted his right to *suspend* the law by issuing, without the consent of parliament, a *Declaration of Indulgence.* "We do declare that it is our royal will and pleasure that henceforth [the penal laws

against the Non-conformists] be immediately suspended." This declaration favored Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Baptists, and Quakers, as well as Roman Catholics, and was by many received with satisfaction. Its purpose was to gain the support of the Dissenters, to humiliate the Anglican church, and to give a free opportunity for the application of the king's Roman Catholic policy.

So far, little outward opposition had been expressed, but when James ordered the clergy to read the Declaration of Indulgence from their pulpits, he met with a refusal. Certain bishops, with the archbishop of Canterbury at their head, addressed a petition to him, begging him to desist. He ordered the seven bishops who had signed the petition to be tried for libel. On June 29 the trial took place. Public excitement increased, popular demonstrations in favor of the bishops were held, and when, on June 30, after a day's trial, the jury brought in a verdict of "not guilty," the joy of the people knew no bounds.

299. The Revolution of 1689. — The spirit of the nation was aroused. Even the Tories began to advocate resistance. The purpose of the revolution was threefold: (1) to assure a better security for the individual, against press laws, attacks on the corporations, and interference with the judiciary; (2) to secure the supremacy of the Anglican church; and (3) to establish the supremacy of statute law over the royal prerogative, by forbidding any further dispensing or suspending of the law.

The crisis, already inevitable, was hastened by the birth of a son to the king on June 10, 1688. This event promised permanence to the dynasty and seemed to guarantee to the Roman Catholics the continuance of a government and a policy favorable to them. It rendered wholly uncertain the accession of Mary, the daughter of James and the wife of the Protestant stadtholder of Holland, William of Orange. The Protestants saw no relief ahead, and their leaders determined to act at once. Seven prominent men, some Whigs and some

Tories, led by the earl of Danby, addressed a letter in cipher to the prince of Orange, inviting him to come to England to uphold and protect their constitutional liberties. For fifteen years William of Orange had been the leader of those who opposed the aggressions of Louis XIV. He was "the champion of Protestantism and the liberties of Europe against French ascendency." The invitation extended to him was, therefore, exceedingly significant, as it promised an entire reversal of England's home and foreign policy.

300. Coming of William and Flight of James II. — To William the year 1688 was favorable, because Louis was at war on the Continent with the emperor and the League of Augsburg and could not easily attack Holland or aid James. He therefore accepted the invitation of the English leaders, and on October 10, 1688, despatched to England a proclamation, setting forth his reasons for accepting, and declaring that his only object was "to obtain the assembling of a free and legal parliament which should decide all questions, public and private." Nine days later he set sail for England, with fifty ships and a Dutch army of fourteen thousand men. He disembarked near Torbay, on November 5. Peasantry, townspeople, and local militia flocked to his standard. In the north and east successful movements in his favor destroyed the king's hopes there, while defections from the royal army were of daily occurrence. Lord Cornbury, the king's nephew, Lord Churchill, later duke of Marlborough, his favorite and protégé, and even his daughter Anne and her husband, Prince George of Denmark, joined the insurgents.

James was now ready to make concessions, but it was too late. Therefore, having first placed the queen and the little prince on a vessel bound for France, he left his palace of Whitehall on the banks of the Thames, and made his way to the coast. There he was stopped by fishermen and brought back to London. Later, however, he was allowed to escape first to Ireland and afterward to France, where he became a pensioner of the French king, whose ally he had been. Mean-

while William of Orange entered London amidst demonstrations of joy, and conferred with the leaders of the revolution regarding the organization of the government. By them William was requested to act as temporary governor, and the people were instructed to send their representatives, elected in the usual manner, to a convention (not a parliament, since a king had not called it) that should meet on January 22, 1689.

The Convention met *to decide the question of the succession.* It resolved that James, by withdrawing from the kingdom, had abdicated, and that, therefore, the throne was vacant. It also resolved that it was inconsistent with the safety and welfare of the nation that a Roman Catholic prince should rule the kingdom. The Convention then offered the regency to William and the crown to Mary; but on William's refusing to be "his wife's gentleman usher," it offered the crown to William and Mary jointly, with the understanding that the actual government of the kingdom should be in the hands of the king.

301. The Bill of Rights. — The Convention also defined in a formal document the fundamental principles of the English Constitution. This document was the famous *Declaration of Right*, which was accepted by William and Mary on February 19, 1689; and later, as the *Bill of Rights*, was made a part of the law of the land by act of parliament, on December 16, 1689. By this memorable document, the Bill of Rights, certain constitutional privileges of parliament and people were exactly stated, and declared to be the unchangeable law of the kingdom.

The *provisions of the bill* summed up the chief issues which had been in dispute since 1660. The rights that James had claimed, to dispense with the laws, to levy money in any form without the consent of parliament, to maintain a standing army dependent on the king instead of on parliament, were declared illegal. The right of the people to petition, as the bishops had done, the right of electors to choose members of parliament without interference, the right of freedom of speech in parliament, and the necessity of frequent meetings of parliament for

the amending, strengthening, and preserving of the laws, were all declared inalienable parts of the ancient rights and liberties of the English people.

Lastly, a clause was inserted, stating that no Roman Catholic could possess the crown, and that after the death of William and Mary the succession should go to their children, or, in default of issue, to Anne and her children, or, in default of such, to the children of William by any other wife. After Mary's death, in 1694, and the death of Anne's only surviving son, the duke of Gloucester, in 1701, a further clause was added, settling the succession upon the granddaughter of James I, Sophia of Hanover, on the ground that she was the nearest Protestant heir.

302. Results of the Revolution: Parliament, the Church, Foreign Policy. — This was the "great and glorious" revolution. Won without bloodshed, it marked a new era in England's history; for it overthrew the doctrine of the divine right of kings and the passive obedience of the people and substituted therefor the right of the people to resist their rulers. Furthermore, it established the supremacy of statute law over the king's will and pleasure. It did not affect the right of hereditary succession, but it handed over to parliament full power to limit the prerogative of the king and to take part in the actual government of the kingdom.

In 1688 parliament expressed the will of the nation as nearly as the conditions of the time permitted; that is, it expressed the will of the country gentlemen with landed estates in the counties, and of the official class in the boroughs, so far as the boroughs were represented at all. The right to vote in the counties was confined to wealthy freeholders; but borough representation was a farce. Many growing towns were not represented; others were at the disposal of the local officials, the great party leaders, or the king who had been accustomed to change the town charters to suit his purposes, or to compel the towns to elect the men he wanted. Though after 1688 power passed into the hands of parliament, it can hardly be

said to have passed into the hands of the English people. That result was not attained for two centuries.

303. The Act of Toleration. — The revolution was in large part the work of the established church, and it inevitably led to an important change in the position of that body. Henceforth, the church of England had no cause to fear either the Roman Catholics on one side or the Dissenters on the other. The former were by special laws disqualified from holding office, bearing arms, or retaining control of churches or church lands; the latter, — Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Baptists, and Quakers, — having given up hope of a compromise with the established church, were beginning to erect churches of their own. Toward the Dissenters a spirit of toleration was manifest, and in 1689 parliament passed the *Toleration Act*, which released the Dissenters from the operation of laws passed against them since Elizabeth's reign. Neither Roman Catholics nor Unitarians profited by this act, and all Non-conformists were excluded from holding office under the Test Act. But from this time forth Dissenters were free to worship independently, though legally and socially they still remained only a tolerated body. The church of England held the leading place in wealth, influence, and prestige, and was from this time forward, in an exact and well-defined sense of the term, the established church.

304. England's Foreign Policy. — The revolution of 1689 entirely altered the foreign policy of England, for it committed her to prolonged and almost unbroken war with France. As a colonial and commercial power France had taken the place of Spain and, in part, of Holland. She had established colonies in America and Africa, and was seeking to establish a colonial and commercial empire. England was doing the same: she had colonies on the American seaboard, in the West Indies, in Africa, and in India; she was developing her navy and her commerce, and was gradually acquiring a tremendous interest in the world outside the island kingdom. This new rivalry between France and England led to a struggle not for the control of feudal fiefs, as in former years, but for the supremacy

of the seas and the possession of the lands beyond the seas. When, therefore, in May, 1689, William III declared war upon

From a photograph.

MUCHENEY OLD RECTORY.

France, a new era in the foreign policy of England was begun. On December 30 England joined the League of Augsburg, a coalition of the principal Protestant countries of Europe. A mighty struggle, in which England was to take a leading part, was about to begin.

The period since 1603 marks a great era of transition from older to more modern conditions of life, thought, and government. At the beginning nothing seemed definitely settled, neither the position of the church nor the power of parliament. Government was entirely in the hands of the king, as it had been for centuries (pp. 251, 252); the king received and dispensed the revenues and taxes, controlled the navy, managed the militia and the few permanent soldiers that existed, and granted privileges and pardons. The system of government was still

mediæval. Commerce had scarcely begun, there were no colonies, and agriculture had improved very little. Eighty-five years later great changes had been wrought. Parliament had asserted its right to take the control of affairs out of the hands of the king, though it did not do so till after the death of William III; the church of England had definitely obtained its position as the established church. Dissenters were given freedom of worship, and Roman Catholics were barred from all political and ecclesiastical rights. Commerce was making great strides, and colonies existed in America, India, and Africa. The navy had been reorganized, a permanent army was established under parliament, and a new system of financial management was introduced. The people, weary of the long religious conflict, welcomed a settled state of affairs that they might turn to the gaining of prosperity at home and influence abroad. The reign of Charles II is noteworthy as the period when the history of modern England may be said to begin.

CHAPTER XV.

EXPANSION OF ENGLAND UNDER PARLIAMENTARY RULE.

305. William III. — The new king was a foreigner, and belonged to a people little liked by the English. He was bred as a soldier and was unfamiliar with the customs and traditions of English government and life. Accustomed to command, he wished to exercise all his powers as king and had little sympathy with the idea of government by parliament. Probably he did not fully understand the importance of the revolution of 1688, and was easily irritated by the quarrels of leaders and the bickerings of parties. He came to England determined to rule honorably and well, but his heart was not in his work there. War against Louis XIV was his mission in life; everything else was secondary. As far as he personally was concerned, every act of his government was but a means to the eventual reduction of the influence of France in Europe. As king he was neither Tory nor Whig, Anglican nor Dissenter. He desired to reconcile parties that he might make England strong to aid him in his military enterprises. He was his own first minister and was throughout his reign the centre and head of the government. The union of all parties, religious and political, under himself as the leader, was the dominant purpose of his reign, and because he was never able to bring about such union, there was no real harmony between king, ministers, and parliament. The period from 1689 to 1702 was, therefore, one of uncertainty as to the powers of government, and the definite results of the revolution of 1688 did not appear till after William's death.

306. Resistance of the Scottish Highlanders. — William could not begin his chief work, war against France, till he had made

secure his control in Scotland and Ireland, as well as in England, and had become undisputed ruler of the three kingdoms. When James II fled from England, the Scotch Covenanters abolished Episcopacy, and proclaimed William and Mary sovereigns of Scotland. But John Graham of Claverhouse, Viscount Dundee, aroused the Highlanders and took up arms for James. At *Killiecrankie*, on July 27, 1689, his followers, armed with sword and shield, won a dashing victory over the soldiers of the new government, who were armed with the new-fangled bayonet just introduced from France. But the brilliant victory availed little, for Claverhouse was slain in the battle, and without him at their head the clans were unable to hold together. In 1691 William bought their allegiance with gifts of money and promises of amnesty.[1]

WILLIAM III.
From a miniature by Netscher in the Welbeck Abbey Collection.

307. Uprising in Ireland: Battle of the Boyne. — When William became king of England, the greater part of Ireland was in the hands of Roman Catholics, and the nation, loyal to James,

[1] William's success was marred by the slaughter of the MacDonalds of *Glencoe* (1692) at the instigation of their rivals the Campbells, who had won favor with William. Special report: The Massacre of Glencoe.

sprang to arms in order to throw off the burden of English Protestantism. In March, 1689, James II arrived from France with aid furnished by Louis XIV, and began the siege of Londonderry and Enniskillen, where the Protestants had gathered. The fight was to the death; already the Irish parliament, wholly under the control of Roman Catholics, had declared for the independence of Ireland, confiscated the lands of the English, and passed an act of attainder against two thousand English and Scottish Protestants. The siege of Londonderry is a famous event in history. For one hundred and five days the heroic Scots-Irish inhabitants held out, until at last a fleet sent by William in August, 1689, saved the day, and prevented northern Ireland from falling into the possession of the Roman Catholics.

William himself now came over, and met the forces of James at the river Boyne, in Leinster, north of Dublin. There James and his French and Irish allies were hopelessly defeated. The *battle of the Boyne* (July 1, 1690) destroyed the last hope of the Stuart king, and he fled to France. The flight of James left the Irish face to face with the struggle for their own independence, and for four months they fought like heroes. But William was too able a general for them to resist successfully. Cork in the south, Athlone in the west, and finally, after two sieges, Limerick in the southwest, were taken, and the whole of Ireland passed under English and Protestant control.

With the *peace of Limerick* (October, 1691), the war was ended. Ten thousand Irish soldiers were allowed to migrate to France; protection was promised for the remaining Irish Catholics, but this promise was not kept, and from 1690 to 1778 a Roman Catholic in Ireland was treated like an outlaw. The battle of the Boyne and the capture of Limerick were of great importance to William, for they saved the day for him not only in Ireland, but also in England and France.

308. War with France: Victory of La Hogue. — Before William undertook the subjugation of Ireland, he had declared

war against France, and had sent troops to coöperate with his Continental allies. Louis's great object was to strike a quick and decisive blow, in order to force upon the allies a humiliating peace, and he seemed to have gained his end when the French army in the Netherlands and the French fleet in the Channel won victories over the English on the same day (June 30, 1690).

For William the moment was a critical one. His position was insecure in England. Tories like Marlborough and Admiral Russell were already in correspondence with James. The Jacobites,[1] a party favorable to the Stuarts, were forming, ready to welcome the Stuarts back to England should Louis and James be victorious. But the victory of the Boyne changed the situation. The Jacobites lost ground; the victory gave new prestige to the government of William and Mary; and when William returned from Ireland after the peace of Limerick, he was greeted by the nation with expressions of loyalty and devotion. He disgraced Marlborough by depriving him of all his offices in 1691, but left Russell in command of the fleet. For this expression of confidence he received a speedy reward. While he himself was in Flanders losing ground against the French, Russell, on May 19, 1692, won the sea fight of *La Hogue*, which was on the sea what the battle of the Boyne had been on the land. This victory of the English fleet was not only the first great sea victory in the maritime struggle between England and France, but it was the first of that series of naval victories which made England eventually mistress of the seas.

For five years the war dragged on. Finally, Louis acknowledged that he could not succeed, and in 1697 signed the *treaty of Ryswick*, by which he recognized William as king of England and Anne as William's successor, thus yielding one of the chief points for which the war had been undertaken.

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[1] The name Jacobite comes from the word Jacobus (Latin for James).

309. Government of William III. — William was no figure-head. He was at the same time king, chief minister, minister of foreign affairs, and commander-in-chief of the army. He presided at the meetings of his chief advisers, made appointments, and transacted a great deal of business, without asking the opinion of any one. His chief officers of state and heads of great departments formed a sort of advisory council, later to be known as the Cabinet. These ministers were appointed by the king, but were of no one party and in no way represented the majority in parliament. Their position was a difficult one, for many of them tried to serve two masters, king and parliament, at the same time.

In parliament the House of Commons was inferior, both in dignity and in importance to the House of Lords. An ambitious commoner always hoped eventually to become a peer. The commoners had no great leaders and but little party organization, though the Whigs were in the habit of meeting beforehand to consider important matters. But there was no system and no party unity, and the wits of the time — Defoe, Swift, Dryden, and others — made endless sport of the way in which parliamentary affairs were conducted.

But parliament succeeded in passing a number of exceedingly important measures. The Convention, declaring itself a lawful parliament, passed the *Mutiny Act*, which gave parliament the control of the army; the *Toleration Act*, which legally recognized the Non-conformist churches, as well as the church of England; and the *Bill of Rights*, which embodied in the form of law the principal provisions of the Declaration of Right. The same parliament in 1689 settled upon the king for the use of the crown a fixed sum, known as the *civil list*, thus separating for the first time the private expenses of the king from the public expenses of the nation. At the same time it made a definite appropriation for government, at first for four years, afterward for only one year, thus compelling the king to summon parliament annually.

By neglecting to renew an old censorship act of 1662, it

made possible freedom of the press; and thenceforth newspapers and pamphlets were of great influence politically. In 1694 the second Whig parliament passed a Triennial Bill, requiring the king to issue summons for the election of a new parliament every three years; and in 1696 the third Whig parliament reformed the procedure in trials for high treason and made it more just and humane. Lastly, the Tory parliament of 1701 passed the Act of Settlement, which not only settled the succession upon the Hanoverians, but also placed definite limitations upon the power of the king. Each of these acts marked a great constitutional advance in the direction of a more settled government.

310. England's Wealth. — At the same time and of equal importance with the constitutional changes were the changes taking place in the financial condition of England. Though William was one of the ablest generals in Europe, he could have done but little had not England provided him liberally with men, ships, and the munitions of war; and all these things cost money.

By the revolution of 1689, the financial condition prevailing under the Tudors and Stuarts was brought to an end. Thenceforth no king was compelled to raise money illegally or to receive a pension from a king of France on the ground that parliament did not provide enough money to run the government. Parliament gained control of the public purse, managed the funds, and was consequently obliged to see that the supplies granted were duly raised by taxation. In taking these powers to itself, parliament undoubtedly acted as a check upon the king; but it also relieved him of a great burden. The finances of England thenceforth stood on a new footing.

Money was raised in four ways: by customs duties, excise duties, stamp duties, and a tax on land and personal property. *Customs duties* were import duties on sugar, salt, tea, coffee, tobacco, and wines brought into the country, and export duties on English manufactured goods, such as woollen cloth, sent out of the country. Export duties were, however, eventually abol-

ished. The *excise* was a tax on articles of consumption produced in England, such as malt, glass, bricks, soap, candles, and paper. Afterward the term excise, which had a hateful sound to the English people, included licenses to trade and to sell liquors, and taxes on luxuries, such as carriages, horses, and cards. *Stamp duties* were duties from stamps on legal documents and newspapers. The *tax on land* took the place of the old tenths and fifteenths and of the subsidies levied by the Tudors, but it early ceased to be levied and to the present day land in England has not been specially taxed.

311. The National Debt: the Bank of England. — Although the amounts thus raised were large, they were insufficient for the wars, and it became necessary to add to them by means of loans. Formerly goldsmiths and private individuals had made such loans, but without any certainty that they would receive the principal or even the interest. In 1692 parliament authorized the borrowing of £1,000,000, and the government asked for the money from any one who would lend it, promising to pay the interest regularly. Thus began the national debt of England. In 1694, when William was in great and immediate need of funds to continue the war, and a general loan was not thought expedient, a new device was tried.

Parliament said that those who would subscribe £1,200,000, the amount desired, might form a company and do private business. The formation of this company was the beginning of the Bank of England. Hitherto only private banks existed, such as those of the goldsmiths; but now the government authorized the establishment of a public bank, which received deposits from private individuals, and when necessary loaned these deposits to the government. These loans became a part of the national debt. The founding of the Bank of England introduced a new system of financiering, by encouraging the use of paper money and the saving of funds. The financial situation was still further improved by an act which authorized the recoining of the money of England (January, 1696). New coins were given in exchange for the old clipped and

worn coins, and the latter were no longer allowed to circulate. Thus a sound currency system was established.

The introduction of credit and capital and a sound currency system made possible a great extension of business and stimulated enterprise, so that the moneyed class now came over loyally to the support of William's government.

312. Growth of Industry. — These opportunities to extend business and accumulate money were coincident with a new era in manufactures and commerce. Refugees from Holland and France had already begun to introduce new industries into England. Woollen manufactures had prevailed hitherto, but now silk, linen, and cotton began to be worked up, and scores of small articles, like combs, buttons, jewelry, and baskets were made. Manufacturing increased twenty fold. Swifter and better methods were employed, though production was on a small scale and the processes were still crude.

At this time parliament began to assume control also in matters of commerce. Up to this time private companies, incorporated by the crown, had been the leading agents in promoting trade and colonization. The great desire of all was to find new markets and to hold them for England, to destroy such commercial rivals as Holland and France, and to build up colonies that would serve as a source of strength to the mother country. Parliament passed a fourth Navigation Act in 1696 (p. 298), which aimed to make the old acts more effective. In the same year it established for the first time a permanent board of trade and plantations, to look after commerce and the colonies, and with the exception of the East India Company, it refused to charter any more joint-stock companies, with a monopoly of trade and of territory.

313. Accession of Anne. — William died on February 20, 1702, with his great work only in part completed. Mary having died before William (1694), Anne, Mary's sister, succeeded to the throne, according to the Act of Settlement, and entered on a reign of twelve years. She was a good woman, of quiet habits and simple tastes, loyal to her friends and to the church.

Her husband, Prince George of Denmark, was of little consequence, either as a man or as an adviser of the queen. Anne cannot be said to have had any fixed political principles. Her likes and dislikes were personal, and if she favored the Tories, it was because she preferred them as individuals and because they supported the church, which was the one real object which the queen had at heart. Anne enjoyed the respect which was due her as queen, and she insisted on exercising all the powers of royalty, as far as she could. She appointed her own ministers and dismissed them if they did not uphold her interests or the interests of those she cared for. She received foreign ambassadors and dictated despatches, and for the last time in English history she used the royal veto (1707). But weak of will, she came under the influence of others, of whom the duke of Marlborough and his wife were the most conspicuous. The duke of Marlborough, as a private person, was greedy and unscrupulous, with an eye always to the main chance, but he was the greatest general of his age and saw with unmistakable clearness the necessity of continuing the war policy. In spite of his moral defects — and they were many — Marlborough was the true successor of William III as far as foreign

QUEEN ANNE.
From an enamel miniature by Charles Boit.

affairs were concerned, and was destined to complete what William had begun — the humiliation of France and the discomfiture of Louis XIV.

314. The Question of the Spanish Succession. — The chief cause of the war was the attempt of Louis XIV to place his grandson on the throne of Spain. A century after the death of Philip II, Spain had become an object of strife among the great powers of Europe. She had no army, no money, and no credit. The childlessness of her king, Charles II (1665–1700), made the question of succession to her throne one of the most intricate and difficult problems that Europe was ever called upon to solve.

Duke of Marlborough.

From an engraving by Peter van Gunst.

Louis XIV had realized that the powers of Europe would not allow him to annex Spain, and as far back as 1668 he had sought to arrange a partition of the territory with the emperor. In 1698 the policy of partition was revived, but this time England and Holland, and not the emperor, joined Louis XIV in an agreement regarding the eventual disposition of Spain. Two partition treaties were signed, and all seemed to be happily arranged, when suddenly Charles II died (1700). To the surprise of every one, his will named the grandson of Louis

XIV, Philip of Anjou, as his heir. Louis, throwing the partition treaties to the winds, accepted the legacy, and allowed Philip to enter on the inheritance. The next year he recognized the son of James II as the rightful heir to the English throne, thus violating the terms of the treaty of Ryswick. This double treachery filled the English people with a desire to punish the autocratic king of France.

315. Marlborough's Victories. — War was formally declared in May, 1701, and the struggle continued for twelve years. It was fought out in Italy, Bavaria, Spain, the Netherlands, America (as Queen Anne's War), and on the sea. Marlborough began his campaign in Flanders, while his chief ally, Eugene of Savoy, fought in upper Italy, and the English navy watched for opportunities in the West Indies and the Mediterranean. The first great victory of the war was won by Marlborough and Prince Eugene over the French and Bavarians at *Blenheim* in 1704. In the same year Sir George Rooke captured Gibraltar and held it against every attempt of the French to recover it. In 1706 Marlborough won the great battle of *Ramillies*, which saved the Spanish Netherlands from the French, just as the victory of Blenheim had saved Vienna. In 1706 Louis was willing to treat for peace; but the allies rejected his overtures and continued the war. In 1708 they won the battle of *Oudenarde* in Flanders, and in 1709 the last army that France could raise was sent to the front, only to be beaten after a brave fight, in the bloody battle of *Malplaquet* (1709).

316. Fall of Marlborough and the Whigs: Treaty of Utrecht. — At this juncture a change of party control in England saved France. Marlborough, who had gone into the war a Tory, found it expedient to attach himself to the party of the Whigs, who supported the war policy. By 1708 the ministry had become wholly Whig, greatly to the dissatisfaction of Queen Anne, who was beginning to tire of the influence of the Marlboroughs. The Whigs became exceedingly unpopular, especially after prosecuting Dr. Sacheverell for preaching a Tory sermon (1710). Thereupon the queen dismissed the Whigs,

restored the Tories to power, rid herself of the duchess of Marlborough, and two years later recalled Marlborough himself from the command (1712).

Marlborough's fall meant the end of the war. The Tories hurried the peace negotiations, and in 1713 the *treaty of Utrecht* was signed. England neglected the interests of her allies and gained for herself the greatest advantages from the treaty. Philip (the grandson of Louis) was recognized as king of Spain, and the Indies (South America) were confirmed as Spanish possessions. To check the growth of France, Holland was given control of the fortresses on her frontier, Prussia received territory on the Rhine, and Savoy an extension of land in northwestern Italy. From Spain, England received Minorca and Gibraltar in the Mediterranean; from France, Nova Scotia, all claims to Hudson Bay territory, and Newfoundland, though the French, in resigning their territorial claims in Newfoundland, retained the right to catch fish and to dry them on certain portions of the coast. Spain granted to the South Sea Company the exclusive right of importing a certain number of slaves to the Spanish colonies in South America for thirty years, and allowed the company to send one ship annually with English goods to trade at the Spanish fairs in South America. Thus the commercial activity of England was widely extended.

317. Union with Scotland. — While England was gaining important commercial advantages and extending her empire abroad, she was occupied at home in consolidating her kingdom. Cromwell had given representation in the English parliament to both the Scots and the Irish; but Charles II had separated the three kingdoms, granting each a parliament of its own, with a common king, the king of England. Since that time Scotland and Ireland had been governed by commissioners, and in many ways had been treated as foreign countries. The navigation act had forbidden the English colonies to trade with Scotland and Ireland, except through England, and Scottish merchants and manufacturers had suffered greatly

from this restriction of their market. The Scots saw how impossible it would be for them to build up a trade except by union with England. The English, on their side, were afraid that on the death of Queen Anne, Scotland would break away from England entirely and form an independent kingdom. So, after a year's deliberation, both countries agreed upon union.

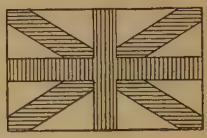
The *Act of Union* was adopted in 1707. Among the independent Scots it aroused an intense opposition that only time

CROSS OF ST. ANDREW. SCOTLAND.

A white cross on a blue field.

CROSS OF ST. GEORGE. ENGLAND.

A red cross on a white field.



THE "UNION JACK." GREAT BRITAIN.

The two crosses combined.

Upon the accession of James I, he issued a proclamation ordering his subjects to use a flag with the two crosses "joined together according to a form made by our heralds." It is said to have received the name "Union Jack" because the king signed his name in French, Jacques. In 1801, on the legislative union with Ireland, the Cross of St. Patrick, red upon a white field, was added to the union flag.

could eradicate, but in the end it was to be the making of the Scottish nation and kingdom. By this act the two kingdoms became one state, with one parliament, one debt, one system of taxation, one body of commercial and trading privileges, and one flag, the Union Jack. Only in church and law and justice did differences exist. Scotland retained Presbyterianism as the state religion, and administered law and justice in her own way. Thenceforward England, Wales, and Scotland were known as Great Britain.

Ireland, as before, was denied all commercial advantages. She was heavily taxed and the growth of her industries deliberately retarded in order to benefit Scotland and the colonies.

318. The Hanoverian Succession. — In 1714 the sickness of Queen Anne brought up the question of the succession to the throne. According to the Act of Settlement, the heir to the throne was the aged Sophia, electress of Hanover and granddaughter of James I, but by her death, in 1714, the title passed to her son George, a phlegmatic and uninteresting German, fifty-four years old. That he had a claim to the British throne at all was in itself an extraordinary fact. He was not the nearest heir, nor was he an elected king. The people had not chosen him, and, had they been asked, would probably have rejected him. The Act of Settlement had been passed by the House of Commons in a moment of intense excitement, the members fearing that Louis XIV would recognize the son of James II as heir to the English throne, as he did, in fact, three months later. The more men thought about the arrangement, the less they liked it, and from 1702 to 1714 it steadily lost favor. After the danger from France had been removed, the opposition to the Hanoverian succession began to increase.

GEORGE I.

From a miniature by Bernard Lens in the Montagu House Collection.

This opposition was backed by the Tories, who now, under their leader, Bolingbroke, a brilliant orator but erratic statesman, began a campaign for the restoration of the Stuarts. But

Bolingbroke's plan was checked by the honorable refusal of James III, the Pretender, to change his religion from Roman Catholic to Anglican. This decision divided the Tories, many of whom were unwilling to see a Roman Catholic on the throne. Therefore, when on August 1, 1714, Queen Anne died very unexpectedly, the Whig friends of the Hanoverians were able to declare George king. On September 18 he landed in England, and the reign of the House of Hanover began.

319. The Uprisings of 1715. — The succession of George I was a victory for the Whigs. In the mind of the new king, the Tories were Jacobites (supporters of the Pretender James), and with them he would have nothing to do. He selected his first ministers from among the Whigs, who, thus restored to power, remained in absolute control of the government for forty years. All the offices of importance were held by members of a few leading Whig families, who during the later part of the period disputed and quarrelled and bargained among themselves for lucrative positions which gave social and political prestige and opportunities for increasing private fortunes. This victory for the Whigs, which was followed by the impeachment of Bolingbroke and other extreme measures, led to many Jacobite riots in 1715.

But even more serious than the Jacobite riots in England was the Jacobite movement in Scotland, known as Mar's Uprising. A general insurrection in England and Scotland had been planned by Bolingbroke; but unfortunately for the success of the undertaking, the Pretender, headstrong and impatient, ordered the earl of Mar to act in Scotland before the English Jacobites were ready. Mar was defeated at *Sheriffmuir* (November 13, 1715); and, though James himself went to Scotland to encourage his supporters, the whole movement proved a failure, and Mar and the Pretender escaped to France.

320. The Cabinet and the House of Commons. — By 1720 the Whigs were triumphant, the Tories discredited, and the house of Hanover was firmly established on the throne. George I was a very different man from William III. He made no

attempt to be a personal ruler, and left everything to his ministers. He was German, and, speaking no English, he could not talk to either ministers or people. He leaned entirely on the Whigs, and refused to have a Tory in his ministry. Consequently, party government in a new sense began to prevail, and the cabinet became more and more a governing body of the kingdom. George appointed his own ministers, but left them to manage affairs more or less as they pleased. Thus the power of the cabinet steadily increased and the power of the crown steadily declined.

At the same time an important change took place in the House of Commons. Under George I it gained in power and importance, until it was of more dignity and consequence than the House of Lords. Three causes may be assigned to this change.

(1) Since the Triennial Act of 1694 a new parliament had to be elected every three years; but in 1716 the Whigs, fearing to lose the election in case parliament were dissolved, passed the Septennial Act, which continued their session and that of succeeding parliaments for seven years. This law, which prevailed till 1911, had the effect of dignifying the House of Commons.

(2) As government became more expensive, the House of Commons, which controlled the purse, became more and more influential. It disbursed only £2,300,000 in 1699, but in 1743 the amount had increased to £10,000,000. The national debt had risen to £52,000,000 in 1714, and to £55,000,000 in 1721. Financial questions touching economy and expenditure became leading issues in the eighteenth century; and the House of Commons was the storm centre of debate.

(3) The policy of Walpole, the greatest Whig minister of this time, had much to do with making the House of Commons more powerful than the House of Lords. During his entire ministry of twenty-one years Walpole remained a commoner, and his seat of activity was the House of Commons.

321. Ministry of Walpole (1721–1742). — Walpole's long ministry forms an epoch by itself in English history. It was a period of peace, economy, and financial reform. It was not a

time of progress in politics or legislation, but it was marked by great progress in the wealth and comfort of the English people.

Walpole was a financier rather than a statesman; his age was characterized by bribery and corruption, coarseness in manners, and religious and moral stagnation. Drunkenness, lawlessness, and inhumanity prevailed. Society lived for pleasure and for personal gain. But trade and commerce increased, and new towns in the north and west grew in size and wealth; and these gains in wealth and resource were to stand Great Britain in good stead in the exciting years that followed.

During his ministry Walpole had three purposes: first, to unite the landowning and moneyed classes in support of the House of Hanover, and so make secure the throne of the Georges, whom he served; second, to develop trade and industrial activity at home by reducing taxation and cutting down the national debt; and third, to strengthen the navy and to encourage commerce with the colonies abroad, on the principle that the greater the prosperity of the colonies, the greater would be their demand for English goods.

First he restored confidence in the nation's credit, which had suffered in a financial panic known as the South Sea Bubble.[1] Then he inaugurated a reform of the whole tariff system, partly to check smuggling and adulteration, and partly to encourage manufacturing at home and to relieve the poor. In 1721 he removed export duties from one hundred and six articles of British manufacture, and import duties from thirty-eight articles of raw material; and he further reduced the duties on many of the necessaries of life.

His colonial policy was even more noteworthy. Colonies at this time were generally considered as sources of supply; their trade was restricted by navigation acts and manufacturing in them was prohibited. Walpole was rather inclined to *neglect* the colonies and to allow them to trade where they pleased. His colonial policy opened new markets for colonial products,

[1] Special report on the South Sea Bubble.

which heretofore had been sent only to England, and the American continental colonies entered upon a period of unprecedented growth and prosperity.

While Walpole favored the merchants and the colonists, he also desired to aid the landed gentry. Considering the land tax ruinous and unfairly levied, by 1731 he succeeded in reducing it from four shillings to one shilling on the pound. In order to keep the tax at this low rate, and at the same time to make up the loss in revenue, he was obliged to adopt new methods of taxation. Therefore, in 1733 he introduced his Excise Bill, in which he proposed to change certain customs duties into excise duties. Certain products, such as tobacco, instead of paying "customs duties" at the wharves, were admitted duty free and an excise duty paid within the country when the products were sold. The Excise Bill was wholly admirable from a financial point of view, because it would have checked smuggling, made the collecting of duties easier and simpler, would have been a step in the direction of free trade, and would have lightened the burden of the land tax, but it bore the hated name of "excise" and a fury of opposition was raised in the country. Walpole bent before the storm. Though a majority in parliament could have been obtained for the measure, he decided to push it no further. For almost the first time in English history, public opinion won a victory over a parliamentary majority.

Though Walpole was chiefly influential in matters of trade and finance, he contributed indirectly to the shaping of the constitution not by passing laws, but by the practical work of conducting the government. He organized his followers in the House of Commons and gave shape to party government; he transformed the old group of ministers into a working cabinet and made himself the supreme ministerial head of the government.

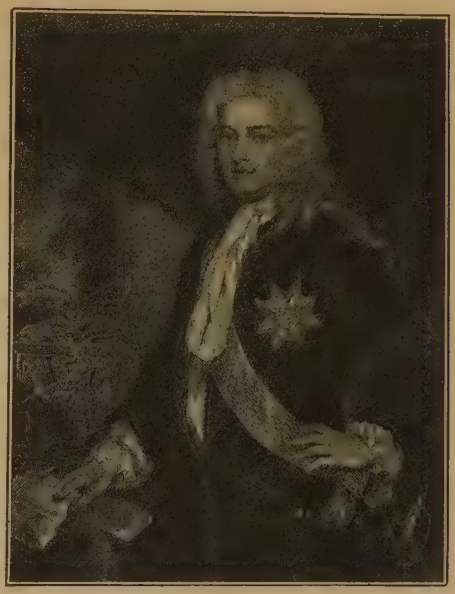
322. Tory Opposition: War with Spain (1739). — Against Walpole's strong position the Tory opposition hurled itself in vain. George I died, and George II succeeded to the throne (1727); but Walpole continued in office. Though the failure

of the Excise Bill did not weaken his position, he was finally overthrown because he was opposed to a war with Spain, which grew out of the commercial rivalry between Spain and England

The commercial privileges given to England by Spain in the treaty of Utrecht (1713) had become very important to British merchants and had led to a gradual and illegal extension of British trade in South American ports. The "one ship a year" allowed by the treaty (p. 321) had become a small flotilla, and smuggling was carried on unblushingly. This exasperated the Spanish officials, who, resenting this abuse, attempted to retaliate. Tales of horrible atrocities, of Englishmen confined in Spanish dungeons and driven to labor in Spanish chain-gangs, were brought back to England. One Captain Jenkins appeared before the bar of the House with an ear done up in cotton-wool and told how it had been torn off by a brutal Spanish captain. Some said that the ear was still there; others that Jenkins had lost it in the pillory. England could endure no more, and, burning with indignation, — hardly righteous, since Spain had a just grievance, — demanded redress. Contrary to Walpole's wishes and efforts, war was declared in 1739. The "War of Jenkins's Ear," as it was called, ended in a failure, which was charged against Walpole. The opposition, taking advantage of Walpole's unpopularity, made every effort to overthrow him. Walpole's majority in parliament grew steadily smaller until, in 1741, it amounted to but one vote. So, in February, 1742, Walpole resigned and his great ministry came to an end. The war itself soon merged into a larger war.

323. Importance of Walpole's Ministry. — But Walpole's work was accomplished. The Hanoverian dynasty was firmly established. Great Britain was commercially prosperous and consequently contented. Men no longer worried about the Act of Settlement; the mass of the people wanted stable government, and with this guaranteed, cared little whether the king was a George or a James, a Hanoverian or a Stuart. The new importance of parliament overshadowed the doctrine of *divine right*, and very few were prepared to risk their lives

and their property for the sake of a pretender whose claims to the throne rested on birth only. The quarrels of Continental dynasties or the demands of a Jacobite pretender were now of less importance to most Englishmen than trade, financial security, and personal comfort.



ROBERT WALPOLE.

From an engraving by H. Robinson, after a painting by C. Jervas in the Walpole Collection.

324. War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748): King George's War in America. — Great Britain's indifference to Continental affairs is shown by the attitude assumed by the British government in the war of the Austrian Succession. The states of Europe had acknowledged Maria Theresa, daughter of the archduke of Austria, as heir to her father's throne, but upon his death in 1740 Prussia, under Frederick the Great, France, and other countries attacked Austria, hoping to gain territory for themselves. King George II as elector of Hanover was much concerned in the war and made an alliance with Austria against France. But the English felt little enthusiasm for the war and continued it only because of the hostile attitude of France, till in 1748 the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle was signed, which restored to each contestant all that had been lost during the war. During the struggle England's chief interest

had been in the navy, which had won two victories over the French fleet, and in the American colonists, who had captured Louisburg in 1745.

325. The Young Pretender. — The Jacobites took advantage of the war to make another and last attempt to obtain possession of the English throne. The Young Pretender, Charles Edward, son of the Old Pretender, James, determined to test once more the loyalty of the Highlanders. Setting out with a few followers, in a single vessel, he landed in western Scotland, gained control of the country by winning the battle of *Prestonpans*, and on July 25, 1745, crossed the frontier and advanced into England.

His march to Derby aroused great apprehension in London, but the English Jacobites failed to support the prince, and, finally, Charles Edward was forced to retreat. Marching despondently back to Scotland, he was defeated at *Culloden* on April 16, 1746, by a superior army under the duke of Cumberland. After many romantic adventures he made his way to France, where he ended, in 1788, his inglorious career, just a century after his grandfather had been banished from the throne.

326. England's New Interests. — England's half-hearted interest in the war of the Austrian Succession and her repudiation of the Stuarts were indicative of a new era that had been ushered in by the peace policy of Walpole. Questions larger than the claims of a pretender were arousing the British people to a new activity in the worlds beyond the seas, where lay the frontier posts of British empire. At home a religious revival was already stirring the people to the depths, and was awakening a new spirit in the English democracy. The indifference and scepticism of the preceding half century were to give way to an unprecedented outburst of military enthusiasm and religious fervor.

327. Colonial Rivalry between England and France. — England and France were already rivals for the great regions in the east and the west, in India and in America. The English

had established themselves in Madras in 1639, at Bombay in 1661, and at Calcutta in 1698; but during the war of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748) the French under Dupleix had won a number of victories and had become the real masters of the region in southeastern India known as the Carnatic. It was a bitter moment for Dupleix when the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle compelled him to return to England what he had so bravely won.

At the same time the French and British were also fighting for supremacy in America. In 1749 the Ohio Company had been formed for the purpose of founding an English colony in the Ohio valley, already guarded by French forts. For a century there had been occasional conflicts between the French and the English along the northern frontiers; but now the struggle for the first time became serious in the Ohio valley. The French, step by step, had advanced their outposts in the Mississippi valley and were hemming in the English colonists on the west. In 1754 a Virginian colonel, George Washington, at the head of a small colonial army, attacked a body of French troops near Fort Duquesne (Pittsburgh); but the English colonists did not support him, and he was obliged to withdraw. The British claimed that the French had no right to the Ohio valley; while Duquesne, governor of Canada, sent word to the governors of New York and Pennsylvania that he would permit no settlements other than French in that region. The French under Duquesne, and afterwards under Montcalm, were able to act quickly and effectively; but the English colonies, acting individually, were very slow and the home government was inefficient and weak. The British expedition organized under General Braddock suffered an overwhelming defeat in 1755, and it began to look as if the French would remain masters in the Ohio valley, and would successfully connect their Canadian possessions with those on the Gulf of Mexico.

328. The Seven Years' War (1756–1763): French and Indian War in America. — The war in America broke out before the

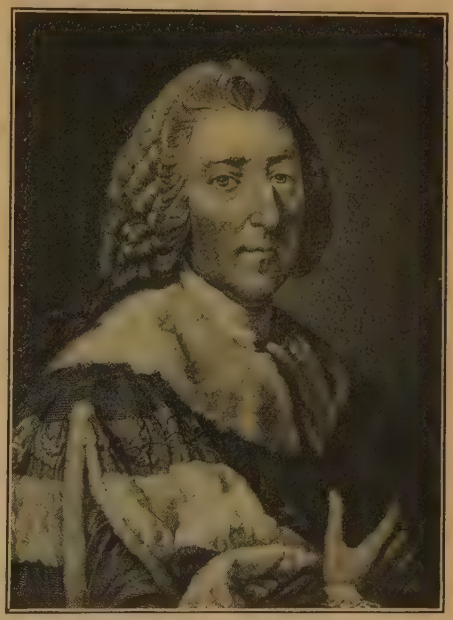
formal declaration was made in Europe. Knowing that war was inevitable, France and England hastened to find allies to aid them in the struggle. England formed an alliance with Prussia, which was rapidly rising into power under Frederick the Great, and France signed a treaty with Austria. These treaties reversed the old British and French policies, as England and Austria had stood together for generations past, but British statesmen recognized that the growing commercial interests of England demanded friendship with the rising German state of Prussia.

329. First Period of the War: British Reverses. — Frederick the Great of Prussia, subsidized by Great Britain, began the attack. After being defeated by the Austrians and by the Russians, Frederick won a great victory over the French at Rossbach near Leipzig (1757), showing himself to be one of the greatest generals in Europe. England's share in the war was without glory. The duke of Cumberland was disgracefully defeated in Hanover, and an expedition sent by sea against Rochefort on the French coast ended in failure. In America, Lord Loudoun, attempting to take Louisburg, which had been returned to France by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, proved utterly incompetent and accomplished nothing. Men began to see that the trouble lay not with the troops, but with the commanders; that favoritism and rank rather than military experience had been considered in the selection of generals.

330. William Pitt. — In 1757 so great indignation was aroused against the administration, that in November of that year a wave of popular feeling carried William Pitt into the ministry, as a principal secretary of state and the actual head of the ministry. Pitt became the leading minister in spite of king, lords, and commons, because he was the only minister of his day in whom the people had absolute confidence. Pitt's strength lay in his enthusiasm and incorruptibility. He was arrogant, affected, impractical, and careless; but he was filled with patriotic fervor strikingly unlike the indifference, distrust, and helplessness of those who had preceded him. In an age of

CHINESE EMPIRE
PUNJAB (LAND OF SIKHS)
Delhi
RAJPUTANA
OUDE
SCINDE
BENGAL
Plassey
Chandernagore
Calcutta
BERAR
Surat
Dio
Damaun
Bombay
NIZAMS DOMINIONS
Yanaon
Goa
BAY OF BENGAL
Madras
Arcot
Pondicherry
Carical
Mahe
MALABAR COAST
TRAVANCORE
CEYLON
INDIA after the Seven Years' War.
INDIA in 1850.
INDIAN OCEAN
ARABIAN SEA
RUSSIAN EMPIRE
BOKHARA
Meeting point of British, Russian and Chinese Empires.
TURKESTAN
CHINESE EMPIRE
AFGHANISTAN (Independent State under British influence.)
KASHMIR
TIBET
PERSIA
BALUCHISTAN (Independent, but practically under British control.)
NEPAUL
BHOOTAN
Cawnpore
Lucknow
BEHAR
TONQUIN (FRENCH)
BURMA
SIAM
ARABIA
Persian Gulf
AFRICA
Gulf of Siam
SUMATRA ISLAND
INDIA of To-day.
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200
British Territory
States under British Protection
French
Portuguese
Dutch

corruption, selfishness, and inefficiency he was able and honest He was free from class prejudice and unusually keen in his judgment of men — a true leader in whom the middle class, the moneyed class of the nation, could have confidence. He taught the people to be hopeful, brave, and self-reliant, and to subordinate their individual interests to the interests of the country at large



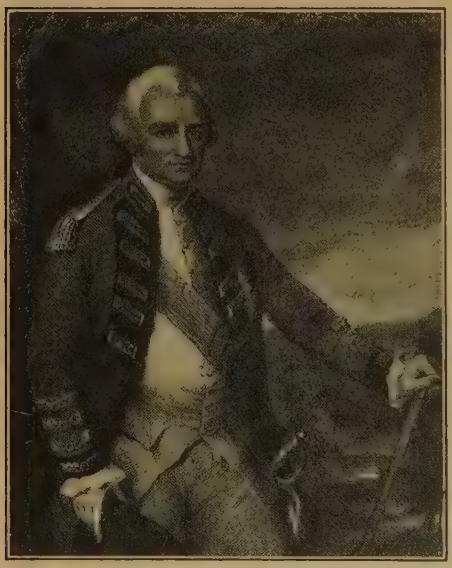
William Pitt, the Elder.
From a painting by R. Brompton.

331. Second Period: A Change for the Better. — Pitt's influence was felt immediately and the English were successful in (1) Europe, (2) India, and (3) America.

(1) A new treaty was made with Prussia, whereby a subsidy of £670,000 was to be paid to Prussia annually, for the purpose, as Pitt said, of winning America in Germany, by aiding Prussia to defeat France on the Continent.

(2) In India events of even greater importance were taking place. In 1743 Robert Clive, a young Englishman, had been sent to Madras, where, for three years, his chief work had been the casting up of accounts, in the employ of the East India Company. In 1751 a war broke out between native princes, involving both French and English in India. In several battles Clive defeated the French general, Dupleix, who, in 1752, was called to France in disgrace. In 1756, while

Clive was in England, a native prince of the north seized Calcutta and thrust the captives into the garrison room of the factory there, — famous thenceforth as the "Black Hole of Calcutta," — causing the death of a hundred and twenty-five men and women. Clive, returning in 1756, took a speedy vengeance on the despot, and in the battle of *Plassey*, June, 1757, defeated fifty thousand untrained native troops and won for the British the protectorate of Bengal. This famous event gave to the East India Company the control of northeastern India. For four years more the English continued to win territory, until by 1761 the French power in India was permanently broken. The responsibility for the loss rests not with the French generals, but with the scandalously inefficient government of Louis XV.



Robert, Lord Clive.

From an engraving by A. T. Mote after the original in the Government House, Calcutta.

(3) In America also success attended British arms. The campaign of 1755 had ended in the defeat and death of Braddock; of three expeditions against Canada, only one — that against New Brunswick — had succeeded. But in 1758 a change took place. Pitt equipped three expeditions and placed them under the command of efficient men. Amherst, who was sent against Louisburg, captured the fortress, July 26, 1758,

and obtained control of the island of Cape Breton. Fort Duquesne was taken the same year. And, finally, Wolfe, pushing westward from Louisburg, scaled the heights of the Plains of Abraham, before Quebec, and on September 13, 1759, won a great victory over the French commander, Montcalm.[1] The surrender of Quebec followed five days later, and by 1761 all Canada had fallen into the hands of the English, leaving only New Orleans to the French.

Thus Pitt's policy, expensive though it was, received full vindication. Vast sums of money had been spent to equip armies to support the colonies and to subsidize Frederick II, yet Great Britain, in the period of commercial prosperity that followed, received back ten times what she had spent.

In 1760 George II died, and was succeeded by his grandson, George III. The new king was a young man of twenty-two, who was strongly English in sympathies and was thoroughly imbued with a determination to rule as well as reign. He was resolved that he would not be ruled, as his grandfather and great-grandfather had been, by the Whig families who had controlled the government since 1714, but would break down the system of cabinet and party government that seemed to be limiting the freedom of the king. He proposed to restore the royal prerogative, to be his own first minister, to choose his other ministers himself, and to be the guide of his own policy. As far as the law was concerned he had a perfect right to do this; no statute forbade it; many statesmen were in sympathy with his views regarding government and in the main he had the support of the people at large. Cabinet and party control was not liked by a great many people in England who looked on cabinet government as only a temporary arrangement.

But George III did not intend to restore the monarchy of the Stuarts, or to govern without parliament. It was his intention to rule with the aid of a party of his own in parliament, one bound to him by flattery, bribery, and sentiments of

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[1] Special report: Wolfe and Montcalm and the victory at Quebec.

loyalty. He saw no reason why he should not break down all party opposition to himself; not a difficult task, because parties were very much unorganized at that time. Thus there arose the new Tories, no longer Jacobites, but Hanoverians, who upheld the king in his determination to restore once more the royal prerogative.

332. Fall of Pitt: Bute's Incompetence. — First of all George III tried to get rid of the man whose overshadowing influence was distinctly an obstacle in his path. In this attempt fortune favored him, for in the year 1761 there was a split in the cabinet on the question of war with Spain which Pitt favored, and the latter resigned. Lord Bute, royal favorite and leader of Pitt's opponents in the cabinet, a man as much hated in England as Pitt was beloved, now directed the king's policy. Because Spain had allied with France, Bute was compelled to declare war against Spain in 1762; and a brilliant naval campaign, for which Pitt had made all the preparations, was carried on. Cuba and other islands in the West Indies were taken, Manila in the Philippine Islands was occupied; and large amounts of Spanish treasure fell into British hands. But the incompetent Bute even in the face of these victories began to negotiate for peace. He refused longer to pay subsidies to Frederick the Great, whom Pitt had aided in order to fight France on the Continent, and he seemed ready to give up anything if only a peace could be arranged. Finally, on February 10, 1763, a treaty of peace was signed at Paris.

333. Peace of Paris. — The terms of this treaty revealed, with startling distinctness, the expansion that had taken place, since the treaty of Utrecht, in British interests and British territory in the world beyond the seas. Great Britain came into full control in America: she received Canada, the islands of the St. Lawrence, a confirmation of her right to Nova Scotia, the eastern half of the Mississippi Valley, except New Orleans, and in return for Cuba and Manila, which she gave back to Spain, she received Florida. She retained also four islands in

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the West Indies. No less complete was the success in India, where the French were allowed by the treaty only a few trading stations. The treaty of Paris, though it was deemed unsatisfactory by the people of England at the time, marks the highest point of colonial power attained by Great Britain in the eighteenth century and made her the leading maritime state in the world.

334. The Religious Revival: the Wesleys. — With the growth of Great Britain's colonial empire went the gradual advance of the capitalist and working classes to a position of political importance in the kingdom. The middle class, whether represented or not in parliament, were listened to more attentively than ever before by those who controlled the government. But the lower classes, who were without representation in any modern sense of the term, had hardly yet begun their political career. A great emotional force was, however, at work among them.

Beginning in Walpole's time (1730–1740) a religious revival aroused the dull and sodden masses from the hopeless lethargy into which they had fallen, and served as a rebuke to the indifference and intolerance of the clergy of the church of England. Starting as a small movement among a few students at Oxford, of whom John Wesley, a wonderful preacher and organizer, his brother, Charles Wesley, and George Whitefield were the leaders, it soon spread to the laboring classes, — artisans, peasants, and miners. Whitefield preached with tremendous power to crowds in the open air, appealing to their sense of sin, to their fear of the dangers that threatened their souls, and to the hope of the salvation that would follow the godly life. John Wesley gathered his followers into bands and societies, and gave form to that ecclesiastical system eventually known as Methodism.

Wesley refused to separate either himself or his organization from the church of England, but his followers, after his death, in 1791, broke away from the established church, and became a distinct religious body, the Methodists. The Wesley move-

ment is important in the history of religious faith in that it quickened the religious life of the other ecclesiastical bodies; but of even greater importance, at the time, was its influence in stirring the lower classes to a new social and political activity. It marks a turning point in the history of English democracy in that it aroused the laborer to a new realization of his own individuality and made him a part of a powerful organization.

335. Power of Public Opinion: John Wilkes. — Though public opinion was still in its infancy, it had begun to play a part in English history. It had compelled Walpole to withdraw his excise measure, had forced him into the War of Jenkins's Ear, had placed Pitt in the ministry, and, finally, had denounced the treaty of Paris. The men who were taking part in the great work of winning the Empire were feeling that they ought to have some share in governing what they had won, and were becoming discontented with the narrow, selfish, and corrupt methods of the House of Commons. This body was largely composed of men who had bought their seats, and who sold their parliamentary votes to the highest bidder; they refused to allow their debates to be printed, and, with an exaggerated sense of their own importance, became oversensitive to criticism, and were only too ready to punish any one who affronted their dignity.

On April 8, 1763, Lord Bute resigned, and Grenville took his place as secretary of state. The latter proved less of a tool than the king had hoped, but he made a serious mistake in his prosecution of John Wilkes. Wilkes was a member of parliament, who, though of doubtful morals, had made himself popular with the common people by his attacks upon the king and the ministers. Wilkes had published in his paper, the *North Briton*, an article criticising the speech which the king had made at the prorogation of parliament, April 23, 1763. The government issued a general warrant for his arrest, but the Lord Chief Justice declared the warrant illegal, and there was great rejoicing among the people at large. Then the House of

Commons expelled him. Unprotected by his membership in parliament, he suffered persecution, imprisonment, and finally outlawry. In the eyes of the people the persecution of Wilkes by parliament was an attack upon the liberty of the subject and the freedom of the press. In 1768 the county of Middlesex elected Wilkes as its representative, but the House of Commons refused to allow him to take his seat. Three times he was returned amid an excitement that stirred southern England to its depths. Meetings were held in cities and counties, expressing want of confidence in parliament, and opposition to the coercive policy of the government. In 1769 "Junius" published his scathing indictment of the administration, and his "letters" had great popularity.[1]

336. Policy toward the American Colonies. — The most important problem that confronted the British ministry at this time was what policy to adopt toward the American colonies. Hitherto the government had not paid much attention to the colonies as such, for it had been more interested in trade and commerce and in the colonies as contributors to England's wealth. But for half a century, since the treaty of Utrecht in 1713, the colonies had made vast strides forward in the management of their own commerce and of their own government. In fact, in their method of governing themselves they were far ahead of the mother country.

The treaty of 1763 had shown that England was becoming a great and world-wide empire. The question inevitably arose as to what place the colonies should have in this empire. Would it be possible to reconcile the tendency of the colonies toward self-government and the management of their own affairs with the tendency of Great Britain to establish an empire in which the colonies should hold merely a subordinate place?

[1] The author of the "letters of Junius" still remains unknown. The government prosecuted the editor of the paper for publishing the letters, but the case was lost. In the end, public opinion won the victory, and in the next general election, 1774, when Wilkes was for the fifth time elected, he was allowed to take his seat.

If Great Britain were to hold her empire together, she must protect it; and to do so meant a standing army and an adequate revenue. The colonies refused to furnish either money or men, and as the national debt of Great Britain had been greatly extended by the war with France, it was necessary for the British government to raise a revenue, if possible, in America.

Grenville proposed three measures. First, to renew and strengthen the Navigation Acts; second, to reform the methods employed to enforce these acts and so to put an end to smuggling and furnishing supplies to the enemy; third, to provide for the defence of the vast territorial additions to the empire by increasing the revenue of the kingdom whereby ships and troops might be equipped. In enforcing the second of these measures Grenville, though doing what he had a legal right to do, was distinctly interfering with colonial trade, since for half a century the colonies had been trading to their own profit and were becoming independent in commerce as well as in government. They had frequently broken the Navigation Acts and during the war had freely trafficked with the French in contraband goods. Grenville's policy was neither illegal nor arbitrary, but it was unwise. The English statesmen in 1763 attempted to meet a new situation by reviving in part an old system that fitted an earlier and different condition of things. They did not realize that the colonies would not be content with new acts which curtailed their power of managing their own affairs to their own profit.

337. The Stamp Act. — It is not likely that Grenville's efforts to enforce the Navigation Acts would have led to revolt because these measures affected only the northern colonies at most, and probably could not have been permanently applied in any case. Much more serious was his proposal to interfere with the right of the colonies to tax themselves. He was driven to do this because the colonies refused to raise either money or men for the protection of the empire in America, but he tried to make the tax as light as possible. In 1765 parliament passed the Stamp Act, requiring the colonists to use stamped paper for

their legal documents. The colonists had never doubted the right of parliament to regulate trade, but they denied its right to levy an internal tax upon them. They claimed that such tax should be imposed only by their own assemblies. As the tax was to help pay the cost of the war and to support an army for the defence of America, the colonists probably would not have objected had the money been raised with their consent. As one assembly said: "The people of this colony are not, and from their remote situation cannot be, represented in the parliament of Great Britain; and if the principle of taxing the colonies without their consent should be adopted, the people here would be subjected to the taxation of two legislatures, a grievance unprecedented and not to be thought of without anxiety."

In 1765, owing to Grenville's mismanagement of a certain bill, the king fell back on the Whigs, and gave the government into the hands of Rockingham. The Rockingham ministry decided to repeal the Stamp Act because the merchants declared that the Americans, by refusing to buy British goods, were causing a falling off of British trade. In 1766 the Stamp Act was repealed, and Rockingham would probably have gone further and have modified the trade laws, had he not in February, 1766, suffered defeat in parliament and resigned.

George III then requested Pitt, whom he had made earl of Chatham in July, 1766, to organize a ministry. Pitt, with Grafton as his colleague, succeeded in this task. But the day of Pitt's greatness had passed. He had sacrificed his popularity among the people and had lost his influence in the House of Commons by accepting a pension and a peerage, and, owing to his increasing ill health, he no longer possessed the power to guide the policy of the ministry. Grafton became the nominal head of the government, but King George, taking advantage of the quarrels among the members of the ministry, was able to compel them to do about as he pleased.

338. The Townshend Acts. — To meet the growing needs of the government, Charles Townshend, the Chancellor of the Ex-

chequer, pledged himself to find revenue in America. Parliament, at his bidding, imposed new duties on glass, paper, red and white lead, painters' colors, and tea, imported thither.[1] This increased the discontent in America, without bringing Great Britain any adequate return. The attempts made by the British ministers, from Grenville to Townshend, to raise revenue actually cost more than was received in return, while Townshend's reckless tampering with the spirit of a proud and self-reliant people cost Great Britain her colonies. The question as to whether or not Great Britain had a right to tax the colonies need not be discussed here; but certain it is that a policy which benefited nobody and which inaugurated a period of humiliation for the British people and government can only be condemned.

In September, 1767, Townshend died, and Lord North took his place as Chancellor of the Exchequer, with Grafton still as head of the ministry. All the new duties except that on tea were repealed, and as far as a majority of the colonists were concerned this partial repeal distinctly improved the situation. But the real cause of the trouble lay deeper than a mere question of trade or taxation. Some of the colonists were already objecting to the position which they occupied of dependence on Great Britain and of subordination to the authority of king and parliament. They looked on themselves as members of self-governing communities, with a right to a certain amount of independent life of their own, but the British government, adhering to the prevailing idea of the position of a colony, refused to make concessions, because to do so would injure Great Britain's own prosperity and require a modification of her own constitutional system. In consequence of the discontent in the colonies and of the fierce hostility aroused at home by the efforts of parliament to keep Wilkes out of his seat, Grafton resigned on January 28, 1770, and Lord North

[1] The tax on tea was ninepence less per pound in America than in England, but it was the principle, not the price of tea, which caused the discontent.

became head of the ministry. He proved to be a minister after the king's own heart.

339. Ministry of Lord North. — The period from 1770 to 1773 was one of calm in America. Only a few disorders disturbed the general tranquillity, and conditions might have remained so for a long time had not the North ministry in 1773 committed a serious blunder in granting to the East India Company a monopoly of the tea trade to the colonies. This monopoly the colonists resented and refused to receive the tea. In December, 1773, on the arrival of the tea ships sent to Boston, a crowd of men, disguised as Indians, boarded the vessels and threw the tea chests into Boston harbor. This Boston Tea Party, as it is called, wantonly destroyed £10,000 worth of private property, and as an act of defiance roused immediately the indignation of Englishmen and the wrath of the ministry and parliament. The latter in reply passed the "Intolerable Acts" (1774), one of which closed Boston harbor and another reduced Massachusetts from the status of a semi-royal to that of a royal colony. These "Intolerable Acts" inaugurated a policy of coercion and rendered reconciliation almost impossible.[1] They were the work of the king and his ministers, but were upheld by the nation, who rejected compromise as humiliating. Yet compromise in all probability would have been successful; for the colonists, though without loyalty to the objects and purposes of the mother country, had at no time expressed any desire to separate themselves from her. On the other hand, Great Britain in 1775 was in no condition to carry on a war in a country three thousand miles away. The ministry of Lord North possessed no definite plans for war, little ammunition, and an inadequate force of soldiers and sailors.

340. American War for Independence. — In the spring of 1775 British troops in Massachusetts were defeated in the battles

[1] Many of England's most brilliant men, such as Pitt, Burke, and Charles James Fox, opposed this policy of coercion. Special report: Burke's Speech on Conciliation.

of Lexington and Concord by the minute men. These events roused great excitement in America, though a majority of the colonists, representing the best men in America, still hoped for reconciliation. The colonists through their representative in the first Continental Congress petitioned the "king's most excellent majesty" for relief and a redress of grievances, but in vain. On July 4, 1776, the second Continental Congress at Philadelphia issued the "Declaration of Independence," asserting that the colonies "were and of right ought to be free and independent states." The colonists, thus formally declaring war, chose George Washington as commander-in-chief, but the war continued for a year without definite results for either side. Finally, at Saratoga, on October 17, 1777, Sir John Burgoyne, pushing down from Canada to coöperate with the British forces under Howe in New York, was compelled to surrender his whole force. This momentous event was the turning-point in the war.

341. France Joins America. — France, smarting under the defeats of the Seven Years' War, took advantage of this favorable opportunity to renew the struggle, and sent Lafayette with troops to aid Washington and a fleet under D'Estaing to the West Indies in February, 1778. So menacing did the danger appear that Lord North declared he was ready to grant the colonies almost everything they wanted except independence. Parliament restored the Massachusetts charter and repealed the tax on tea. It appointed commissioners to go to America to promise amnesty to all and the suspension of all acts relating to America passed since 1763 The commissioners actually went farther, and promised that no more British troops should be sent to America, and that the colonies should have representation in the British parliament.

But it was too late. The colonial war had now become a part of the old-time struggle between Great Britain and France, and the colonists stood by their ally. In 1779 Spain joined them. In 1780 Russia, Holland, Denmark, and Sweden formed the Armed Neutrality League, for the purpose of defending

the rights of neutrals, that is, of those not engaged in the war. They were determined to resist the claim of Great Britain that her ships had a right to seize an enemy's goods even when on a neutral vessel. This danger of war with half of Europe had a very sobering effect on the North ministry and the king. The Whig opposition was daily growing stronger, though opinion was divided as to what was the best course to pursue. The general election of 1780 had shown that public opinion was awakening, and the new parliament proved very difficult for the king to manage. All controversy was cut short, however, by the great victory of the French and Americans at Yorktown, October 19, 1781, where Cornwallis and his army surrendered.

342. The End of the War. — On March 4, 1782, Conway brought forward his famous resolution against a further prosecution of the war in America; the resolution was carried and on the 20th Lord North resigned. The new ministry, made up of both sections of the Whigs, was led by Rockingham, and after his death in July, by Shelburne, the ally and successor of Chatham. The independence of the colonies was now assured and the period of the personal rule of King George was over. By the treaty with the United States signed at Paris, in January, 1783, Great Britain acknowledged the independence of her chief American colonies; but she retained Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick. She gave back Florida to Spain, who, possessing the Louisiana territory by cession from France in the treaty of 1763, now shut in the new republic on the south and west.

343. The New Colonial Policy. — Excepting the loss of the American colonies, Great Britain had emerged from the war with little diminution of territory; and that little was to be in a measure made up in gains elsewhere. At the very time of the American war Captain Cook was making his famous voyages and discovering New Zealand and Australia, Puget Sound and the Columbia River, of which he took possession in the name of King George. Not since the days of Elizabeth

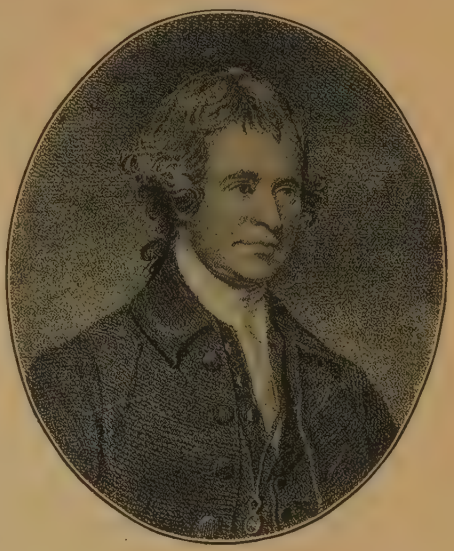
had English explorers been more active than in the years from 1770 to 1815. From Puget Sound to Van Dieman's Land (Tasmania), they were laying the foundation for a wide extension of colonial territory. In 1788 the settlement of New South Wales began, and Australia, New Zealand, Van Dieman's Land, the New Hebrides, Fiji, and other islands became centres of new British activity in the Pacific.

These new possessions were not to be treated as mere sources of supply for the mother country, though half a century was to pass before England began to see the need of a more liberal colonial policy than that which had been employed before 1783. The man who did more than any one else to show that the old, or "mercantile," system was an injury rather than a benefit to England was the economist Adam Smith. In the same year (1776) that the Americans by their Declaration of Independence were protesting against the old British colonial system Adam Smith, in his *Wealth of Nations*, was demonstrating the futility of the system by an appeal to facts and figures. But English statesmen were very slow to learn the lesson, and the one remaining Continental colony, Canada, as well as the West Indian colonies, continued to suffer for the next fifty years from mismanagement by the home government. The new colonial system did not take shape till about 1849–1850.

344. Reforms at Home. — The effect of the war in America was more immediately felt at home, and reforms in government were introduced. In 1771 the practice of secret deliberation in parliament was given up, and the publication of debates was no longer followed by attempts to arrest and imprison the printer. Thenceforth, the public knew what was being said in the House of Commons. Toward the close of the American war, public opinion was aroused against the entire system of bribery and corruption, and from 1779 to 1781 public meetings were held to protest against an administration that was bringing humiliation upon England.

In 1780 Edmund Burke, the greatest of England's orators and a loyal friend of the colonies, brought in an elaborate

scheme for economic reform, which was designed to do away with useless offices, and to prevent waste in every department. It failed to pass in 1780, but in 1782 was put through in a modified form by the Rockingham ministry. By this measure some forty or fifty thousand revenue officers were forbidden to vote in the elections; forty or more offices, such as that of the king's turnspit, for example, were abolished; the pension list was curtailed; the secret service fund was cut down; and colonial officials were no longer allowed to hold their positions by deputy or for life. In this way £72,000 were saved annually to the government, and the king's patronage was greatly reduced.



EDMUND BURKE.
From I. Jones's engraving after a portrait by Romney.

Important though this reform was, it scarcely touched the real evil of parliamentary and political corruption. The government was in the hands of an oligarchy, which governed in its own interests, with but slight regard for the welfare of the people. In 1783 a strange and unnatural combination was formed. The Tories, led by Lord North, allied themselves with the old Whigs in order to retain power and to curtail the influence of the king. The "old Whigs" were led by Charles James Fox, one of England's greatest debaters and ablest men,

but a statesman passionate and impulsive, and possessed of but little foresight. Against this combination of Tories and "old Whigs" George III fought with all the resources at his command; and when, in December, 1783, the House of Lords defeated Fox's bill for the better government of India, he called for the resignation of the ministry. Within twelve hours he had placed the government in the hands of William Pitt, son of the earl of Chatham.

345. The Younger Pitt. — When but twenty years old, Pitt had made his maiden speech in defending Burke's reform bill, and now, at the age of twenty-five, he was Prime Minister. At the outset of his ministry he won popular approval by his refusal to accept pensions and sinecures, and by his single-handed contest with the old leaders of parliament — Fox, Burke, and North. The struggle lasted for three months. Pitt was defeated regularly in the House of Commons, but refused to resign, confident that the country would support him if only he could dissolve parliament and hold a new election. Finally, on March 24, 1784, after three months' patient waiting, Pitt was able to obtain a vote to dissolve parliament. At once new elections were ordered, and these proved overwhelmingly favorable to him. The combination fell from power, and Pitt became the centre of authority and the absolute head of the government. The elections were won in the same manner and by the same use of various methods of bribery as were all elections in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries up to 1832. A public opinion had not yet come into existence as a political factor.

Pitt was by nature a reformer, a lover of peace, a friend of enlightened progress. Many reform measures that he advocated failed to pass in his day, but they are worthy of consideration in that they are characteristic of the man and anticipated many of the changes that came about during the next century. He checked smuggling, increased the revenue by distributing taxation more evenly, refused to allow favoritism in public loans, and originated a masterly scheme for the redemption of the national debt. He concluded an advantage-

ous commercial treaty with France, and sought to give Ireland equal commercial privileges with England. He brought in three measures for a reform parliament, proposing the gradual abolition of petty boroughs and the transfer of these seats to great cities like London, — measures which, like the Irish bill, were defeated in parliament. He showed himself in full sympathy with Clarkson and Wilberforce, who were trying to abolish the slave trade; with Whitbread, who wished to improve the condition of the poor; and with others, who were attempting to establish a system of popular education. But his efforts were premature and he failed in all these directions.

346. Pitt and India: Warren Hastings. — Not only was Pitt able to deal with the details of domestic reform, but he had a mind broad enough to grasp also the intricate problems of empire. For twenty years the great question of the government of India had been before the country. In 1773 a regulating act had been passed by parliament, to check the abuses of the East India Company, which was in control of India; and Warren Hastings had been sent out as the first governor-general under the act. In 1784 Pitt framed a measure which left commercial matters in the hands of the company, but gave political control to the British government. Under this system India was governed till 1858.

In 1785 Hastings, after thirteen years of efficient service, returned to England, and was immediately confronted with charges of maladministration, cruelty, and corruption in dealing with the native princes of India. Burke attacked Hastings with all the fire of his eloquence; and Pitt, on the ground that the acts of public servants should be kept under strict scrutiny, sustained the prosecution. In 1787 Hastings was impeached and tried before the House of Lords. The malevolence of Hastings's enemies and the oratory of Burke exaggerated the importance of the trial at the time; while the matchless rhetoric of Macaulay in his essay on Hastings unduly magnified the whole affair in the century that followed. Hastings was eventually acquitted of all the charges.

347. The French Revolution. — In Europe a much more vital question than the government of India was becoming prominent. In 1789 the estates-general of France had met for the first time since 1614, and at once that great revolution began which overthrew the power of the French nobility, brought about the death of King Louis XVI, and established the first republic in France.

At first many persons in England, among them Fox, greeted the movement with satisfaction, believing that it would result in the overthrow of tyranny and the establishment of liberty. But Burke saw with alarm the overthrow of the old institutions, and in his *Reflections on the French Revolution* viewed the future with grave apprehensions. Pitt, agreeing with Burke rather than with Fox, continued his efforts to avoid war, but the policy of the French revolutionists rendered his efforts of no avail. In 1792 the leaders of the French Legislative Assembly declared war on Europe. The events of the war that followed led to an increase of revolutionary fever in Paris, which ended in massacres in that city (September, 1792), the proclamation of the republic (September, 1792), and the execution of the king (January, 1793). These events made it impossible for Pitt to maintain a peace policy any longer. The excitement in England, due to the attack on monarchy by the French republicans, was increased by the decrees passed by the National Convention, — the body which succeeded the Legislative Assembly in France, — fiercely attacking the institutions of all monarchical countries, and threatening war for the overthrow of kingdoms and the establishment of republics wherever possible. Before Pitt's ministry could take any step, the Convention itself had declared war against England (February 1, 1793).

The *First Coalition* consisted at first of Austria and Prussia. War began in 1792, and in 1793 Great Britain and Holland entered the alliance. Holland was conquered by the French and transformed into the Batavian Republic in 1795; in the same year Prussia withdrew from the coalition. Austria fought on till 1797, when it signed the treaty of Campo-Formio with

France. Great Britain alone remained. Her share in the war consisted in sending money and troops to the Continent, and in employing her navy to blockade French harbors and to seize the vessels and the colonies of France and of the French allies, Spain and the Batavian Republic. Her efforts on land were largely unsuccessful. The siege of Toulon (1793), a port in the Mediterranean that Great Britain desired to make the base of further operations for the restoration of the French monarchy, was defeated by the skill of Captain Napoleon Bonaparte and the courage of the French soldiers. At sea she made a better record. Howe defeated the French fleet off Brest in 1794; Jervis crippled the Spanish fleet by a victory off Cape St. Vincent in 1797; and Duncan restored the prestige of the navy and checked a projected invasion of Ireland by the defeat of the Dutch at Camperdown, October 11, 1797. In the world beyond the seas, Great Britain captured the Cape of Good Hope and Ceylon from the Batavian Republic in 1795 and 1796; in 1797 she took Trinidad from Spain.

348. The Effect of the Revolution on England. — The French Revolution and the war with France checked England's progress and brought to an end Pitt's efforts at reform. There is no proof of any organized effort anywhere to propagate French revolutionary ideas in England, but the nobility and the aristocratic families, sustaining Burke and Pitt in parliament, sternly repressed every proposal to extend the franchise or to increase in any way the power of the people. Even Pitt himself, in 1792, refused to consider further measures for reforming parliament. Anticipating a revolution in England, parliament twice suspended the Habeas Corpus Act, passed laws against foreigners, checked the freedom of public discussion, and punished severely all who protested against the laws. An attack on George III (1795) was followed by restrictive measures forbidding all speaking against the king, and controlling public meetings and the right of discussion. Thus under the control of the aristocratic and Tory party reaction and repression prevailed in England during the period from 1792 to 1815, checking

freedom of speech and association and postponing indefinitely all movements toward reform.

349. Union with Ireland. — Next to the war with France, no question at this time was of greater moment than that of England's relations with Ireland. Only a fourth of the Irish possessed political privileges, and the Irish parliament that governed them was not representative even of that fourth. The Protestants, who desired an increase of parliamentary independence and a measure of commercial privilege, organized in 1778 the Patriotic party, and sought to conciliate the Roman Catholics. They demanded of England free trade and a free parliament. Lord North, involved in the American war, made a few commercial concessions in 1779; and in 1782 Rockingham freed the Irish parliament from the control of the English government. In 1785 Pitt came forward with a new plan, whereby he hoped "to unite the two countries on some sure basis of commercial intercourse and common interest." But the English parliament rejected his proposal.

This put the Irish in a condition of mind to be deeply affected by the French Revolution. Some desired an alliance with France, others the entire overthrow of British control and the establishment of an Irish republic, while nearly all demanded the reform of the Irish parliament. Pitt tried to give the Roman Catholics representation in the Irish parliament, but George III refused to sanction the measure. So the Irish determined to obtain independence by revolution. In 1796, and again in 1797, the French endeavored to help them by sending troops to their aid. In 1798 the Irish revolution had attained such proportions that a veritable reign of terror ensued in the island.

At this point Pitt came to the conclusion that the only remedy for Irish discontent was the parliamentary union of Ireland with Great Britain. So he obtained from the Irish parliament, by corrupt means if not by direct bribery of the members, a vote favorable to his scheme. On July 21, 1800, the Act of Union was passed and Ireland became a part of the United

Kingdom. The Irish cross was added to the Union Jack (p. 322); and after January, 1801, four bishops, twenty peers, and one hundred Irish members sat in the English parliament.

350. War with France: the Second Coalition. — In 1797 Pitt entered into negotiations with France for the purpose of ending the war. But a financial crisis had just occurred in London, and the French commissioners, believing that Great Britain was exhausted, proposed to take Gibraltar, the Channel Islands, and perhaps a part of Newfoundland, — concessions that Great Britain would not for a moment listen to. So the war went on, but under new conditions.

In Italy Napoleon Bonaparte, after a series of magnificent victories, had forced Austria to sign the treaty of Campo-Formio (1797). After this campaign, Bonaparte became the real director of the French policy, and soon showed that his chief object was to compass the overthrow of Great Britain. To accomplish this he formed three plans of attack, any or all of which might be brought into use: (1) to invade England directly; (2) to attack her on the Continent by depriving her of Hanover; (3) to undertake an expedition in the east which would threaten her trade with the Indies. As only the last of these plans seemed practicable at that time, Bonaparte set out for Egypt in 1797, to force Great Britain to a peace by destroying her eastern commerce. But his elaborate undertaking ended in disaster. His fleet was annihilated by the British admiral, Horatio Nelson, in the *battle of the Nile*, August 1, 1798, a victory which cut off Bonaparte from France and won for England the control of the Mediterranean. At St. John Acre, in Syria, the British general, Sydney Smith, checked the advance of Bonaparte toward the northeast and compelled him to be satisfied with establishing French control in Egypt.

Meanwhile Russia and Austria formed with Great Britain the *Second Coalition* and renewed the war. Bonaparte returned from Egypt in 1799, and overthrowing the French government, made himself, as First Consul, the head of the French state. In this position he was able more vigorously than ever to carry

on the war with the Second Coalition; for a single head is always more powerful in war and diplomacy than a board of directors or a ministry dependent on parliament. In 1800 he overwhelmed Austria in the battles of *Hohenlinden* and *Marengo*, and in 1801 forced her to sign the *treaty of Lunéville*. Russia, jealous of Austria, had already withdrawn from the coalition, so that for the second time Great Britain remained alone, and Bonaparte seemed powerless to injure her. She maintained her hold on Malta and the Mediterranean and finally won back Egypt. She checked all Bonaparte's attempts to aid the revolting Irish, and by winning the *battle of Copenhagen*, April 2, 1801, obtained the mastery of the Baltic. Bonaparte was master on the land, but Great Britain was still mistress of the sea.

Admiral Nelson.
From a painting by L. F. Abbott.

351. The Peace of Amiens. — In 1801 social and economic conditions caused a cessation of hostilities. In France Bonaparte wished to obtain peace in order to organize the government there, and to prepare for the gigantic struggle for empire that he knew was before him. Great Britain was equally willing to have peace. Her people were passing through an industrial revolution. Population and wealth were increasing,

towns were growing, workmen were shifting their occupation from the cottage to the factories, employment was becoming uncertain, the poor were suffering, and on every hand new economic and social problems were arising. The national debt had increased to more than £500,000,000. Ireland was not yet reconciled to the Act of Union, and time was needed to improve the conditions in that island.

In February, 1801, Pitt resigned, because George III had positively refused to consider any measure whereby the Roman Catholics in England might be granted political rights; and a Whig ministry, with Addington at its head, had come into power. By an irony of fate, this commonplace and nerveless leader, a minister at the king's command, was called upon to conduct the foreign affairs of Great Britain at one of the most critical periods in the history of the war. In the peace negotiations during 1801, the Addington ministry gave way on almost every important point. Great Britain restored to France, Spain, and the Batavian Republic all that she had taken from them, retaining only Trinidad and Ceylon. Egypt was restored to Turkey, and Malta was promised to the former owners, the Knights of St. John; Great Britain restored all ports and islands that she held in the Adriatic and Mediterranean; and to complete this exhibition of amiability, George III threw in the title of "King of France," which he and his predecessors had borne since 1340.

In arranging these preliminaries Bonaparte scored a great diplomatic victory. "The only British gains after nine years of warfare, fruitful in naval triumphs, but entailing an addition of £290,000,000 to the national debt, were the islands of Trinidad and the Dutch possessions in Ceylon." The formal treaty was signed at Amiens on March 25, 1802.

352. Napoleon's Colonial Policy. — By this treaty France regained all her lost colonies, and Napoleon was determined to make these the basis of a new colonial empire to take the place of that which Great Britain had destroyed in the Seven Years' War.

As soon as the treaty was signed, Napoleon undertook to carry out his plan: (1) he reëstablished the authority of France in Haiti in 1802, and made that place a base of operations in the West Indies; (2) he prepared an expedition to New Orleans, called upon Spain to issue an order closing the lower Mississippi to vessels of the United States, and demanded the transfer of the Louisiana territory to France; (3) he sent an army to India to recover French control there (1802); and (4) for the purpose of claiming Australia for France, he planned to make use of a scientific expedition that had been sent to the island continent in 1800. This scheme was a grand one, even for Napoleon, and had it succeeded would have created a colonial empire for France that might have rivalled that of Great Britain.

But it failed. Of the expedition to Haiti and San Domingo twenty officers and thirty thousand men died in the fever swamps of those islands. Thereupon Napoleon abandoned the expedition to New Orleans, and sold Louisiana in 1803 to the United States for $15,000,000, thus giving up his plan of a French empire in the western world. In the east he was no more successful. The attempt to annex Australia came to nothing, because British explorers had already claimed the island by right of first discovery, and were in actual possession of the coast. In India also the attempts of the French to recover their influence there were rendered ineffectual by the brilliant victories of the English under Sir Arthur Wellesley.

In 1802 the English began to suspect that Napoleon was preparing to cripple Great Britain by striking at her colonies and her commerce. They watched with suspicion his attempt to exclude from France British manufactures, such as hardware, cotton, and woollen goods; and they learned with great uneasiness of his various colonial enterprises. They feared that he would seize Malta in order to control the Mediterranean, possibly attack Turkey, regain Egypt, and, with the Cape of Good Hope in his possession, overthrow the East India Company in India. So strained had become the rela-

tions between France and Great Britain by May, 1803, that the Addington ministry, acknowledged by all to be too weak to cope with the situation, resigned, and Pitt was recalled as Prime Minister. On May 20 war was formally declared.

353. Renewal of War: Napoleon's Attempt to Invade England. — In Great Britain the war fever rose to the highest pitch. Volunteer regiments were equipped, coast defences completed, and the navy began a running attack on French ports and seized the best of the French islands in the West Indies. Not content with these measures, the British government gave aid to conspiracies and plots against Napoleon. But all these conspiracies came to nothing, and in 1804 Napoleon Bonaparte was crowned emperor of the French as Napoleon I.

To prepare for an invasion of England, Napoleon had been massing his forces at Boulogne for nearly a year. But to cross the Channel with an army he needed possession of that strait for the full time of the passage; and to obtain such possession he had to get a part of the British fleet out of the way. For this purpose Napoleon sent Admiral Villeneuve to the West Indies, that the latter might draw off Nelson's squadron in pursuit. Villeneuve was then to return with all speed, leaving Nelson behind. Napoleon hoped that the French fleet, outnumbering the remaining British ships, would be able to guard the Channel. But the plan miscarried. Villeneuve sailed for the West Indies and Nelson followed him. But on his return, the French admiral was confronted off Cape Finisterre by another part of the British squadron, and compelled to engage in a battle, on July 22, 1805, which seriously crippled him, so that he turned back and sought refuge in the harbor of Cadiz. Napoleon waited for him in vain at Boulogne and all hope of an invasion of England vanished.

354. The Third Coalition. — Meanwhile Russia and Austria, enraged at Napoleon's continued insults to them, had made an alliance with England and formed the *Third Coalition.* Thus not only Great Britain, mistress of the seas, but Russia and Austria, the two greatest land powers, were ranged against

Napoleon. But he, undaunted by his failure at Boulogne, turned with lightning rapidity on Austria and crushed her in the *siege of Ulm* (October 11) and the *battle of Austerlitz* (December 2, 1805). But fortune refused to favor him at sea. On October 21 Admiral Nelson met the French and Spanish fleets off Cape Trafalgar and came off victor in one of the greatest sea-fights in history. The *battle of Trafalgar* destroyed forever Napoleon's hopes of winning control of the ocean, and marked a new era in the growth of the British Empire.[1]

355. The Continental System. — But Napoleon was gradually winning control of the Continent: Austria in 1805, Prussia in 1806, and Russia in 1806 and 1807 fell before his military genius; and when he made a treaty with the Czar, Alexander I, in 1807, he seemed to be master of the fortunes of western Europe. But every effort to crush Great Britain had failed; and now, with the power of the Continent behind him, he determined to make one more mighty effort to destroy her. Believing that the strength of Great Britain lay in her commerce, he determined to ruin her by excluding her goods from France and from all the other states of Europe under his control.

On May 16, 1806, he issued a decree, declaring that the British Isles were in a state of blockade, and he threatened to seize the ships of any country that traded with them. Great Britain replied by threatening to seize the ships of any country that traded with France or her allies. Then in 1807 Napoleon replied by threatening to seize every neutral vessel that obeyed the British orders; but without a navy he could not enforce his decrees, and an enormous amount of smuggling went on at every important port. In the end, this trade war injured Napoleon and France more than it did Great Britain.

356. The War of 1812. — At the same time Great Britain was putting herself in the wrong by her aggressive policy

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[1] Special report: The Death of Nelson at Trafalgar.

toward neutrals. Her order forbidding them to trade directly with the Continent, and her claim of the right to search neutral vessels for contraband goods[1] or British deserters, roused the United States to a declaration of war (June 18, 1812). The war, conducted in part on land and in greater part on sea, was not fought to a final conclusion. The American sailors proved the better seamen, and a series of naval conflicts terminated in a great victory for Perry, who defeated the British on Lake Erie. On the land the British force captured and burned the city of Washington; desultory fighting went on along the Canadian frontier; and Jackson won an important victory over the British at New Orleans. Peace was finally signed at Ghent, December 24, 1814. This war, though inconclusive, and but a side issue in England's great military operations, gave a splendid impetus to American national unity.

357. The Peninsular War. — In 1808 Spain, allied with Portugal, rose in revolt against Napoleon, and Great Britain at once despatched Wellesley, recently recalled from India, to Portugal. In August, 1808, Wellesley landed on the coast near Lisbon, and from 1808 to 1814 this great general, often neglected by his own government, and thwarted by the Portuguese and Spaniards whom he had come to aid, fought courageously on. Napoleon at first endeavored to conduct the campaign in person, but in 1809 he was called back to central Europe by an uprising in Austria. At *Wagram* he defeated the Austrians for the fourth time. In 1812 he began his fatal march on Moscow.[2] In 1813 he struggled with wonderful genius against Prussia and Russia in the wars of liberation; until finally he was thoroughly beaten by the *Fourth Coalition* at Leipzig in the *Battle of the Nations*, and compelled to return to France. All these years Wellesley, who had been made duke of Wellington in 1809, was fighting in Spain. Supplied with troops from England by sea, he was able to engage three hun-

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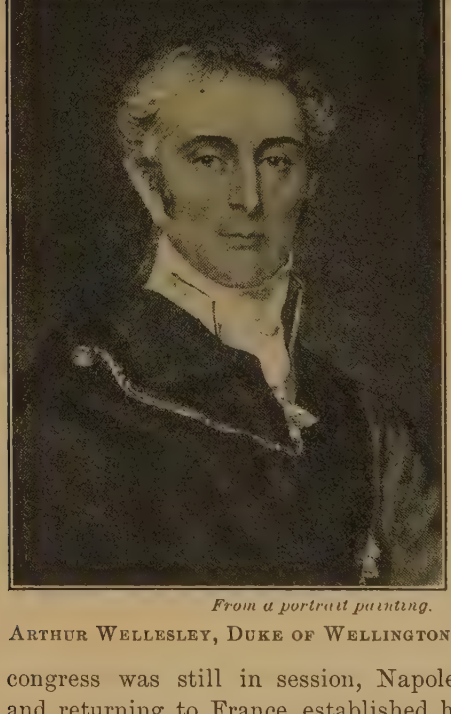
[1] "Contraband goods" means supplies for carrying on war.

[2] Special report: The Retreat from Moscow.

dred thousand of Napoleon's best soldiers at a time when the emperor stood in greatest need of them. Little by little he cleared Spain of French troops, got control of one district after another, and in 1814 crossed into France. There he joined the armies of the other allies, which, winning victories on French soil, compelled Napoleon to abdicate, April 6, 1814.



From a portrait painting.

ARTHUR WELLESLEY, DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

358. Congress of Vienna: Waterloo. — Napoleon was exiled to Elba, and the Bourbons were restored in France (1814). To settle the future of Europe, a great congress, the most important thus far in the history of the world, was held at Vienna. While the congress was still in session, Napoleon escaped from Elba and returning to France, established his authority once more in the famous "Hundred Days." Though he promised to rule in peace, the allies would not consent to his restoration, and immediately set their armies in motion against him. At *Waterloo* on the frontier of Belgium, June 18, 1815, he was totally defeated by the combined forces of England, under Wellington, and of Prussia, under Blücher. After abdicating for the second time, Napoleon was sent to the island of St. Helena, in the south Atlantic, where he died in 1821. The

CHAPTER XVI.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

An Era of Reform, Democracy, and Empire.

359. Condition of Great Britain. — During the twenty-three years that Great Britain had been at war, she had won an influential position in the councils of Europe, and had become the first naval power in the world. But these gains abroad had been made at the expense of prosperity, reform, and progress at home. During the war, the government had made scarcely one important attempt to improve the condition of the British people; all its energies had been consumed in the great task of raising money to subsidize allies, to equip armies, and to build ships. Now that war was over, Great Britain had to face an enormous debt, heavy taxes, high prices, increasing pauperism, badly managed factories, crowded and ill-governed towns, and a thousand other conditions that were making the laborers and middle classes dissatisfied, sullen, and rebellious.

360. Industrial Changes. — Since Walpole's time great industrial changes had taken place in England. Manufacturing, which had begun in the fourteenth century, had received a new stimulus at the end of the eighteenth; but, although the number of industries had greatly increased, the methods were still primitive. Weaving had been carried on by workmen in their cottages, and spinning had been largely done by women and girls in their hours of leisure. Great impetus was given to these manufactures by the invention of Hargreave's "spinning-jenny" in 1764 and of the Cartwright weaving machine in 1785, and by the perfecting of the steam engine by Watt during the period from 1760 to 1790. Coal and coke came to be substituted for wood and charcoal, and improvements in the

iron industry rendered that commodity more available for general use. This cheap production demanded more rapid distribution, so in 1761 the first canal was built, and roads, which had been almost impassable during the eighteenth century, were constructed for the first time of layers of broken stone, a method perfected by a Scottish engineer, John Macadam.

Along with these improvements in manufacturing went improvements in agriculture. Wet lands were drained; poor lands were transformed by manuring and fertilizing; new seeds and roots were introduced; and the breeds of animals improved in appearance, weight, and strength. The use of costly machinery was introduced by the great landowners. The small farmers could not compete with these improved methods and were constantly forced to sell. Wealthy merchants were eager to buy, for political power and social position depended on the possession of large estates. Thus by 1800 the class of small landholders had largely disappeared, some drifting to the towns, others living on the lord's estate as cottagers.

361. Results of these Changes. — The first effects of these changes were discouraging. Machinery took away the employment of the home laborers, the factory system took the place of domestic industry; and great landowners controlled the farms of England. Men and women crowded into the towns and labored in factories, mines, and great industrial establishments, where wages were low, hours long, and sanitary conditions unspeakable.[1] The government did not interfere, but let

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[1] "The most important legislation of the century was the labor and factory legislation. The new factory system had proved fatally cruel to women and children, who for a long time made up the greater portion of the employees. Parish authorities had the power to take children from pauper families in order to apprentice them to employers; and destitute or dissolute parents sold their offspring into such service by written contracts. In the early years of the century, gangs of helpless little ones from six and seven years upward, secured in this way, were auctioned off, thousands at a time, to great factories, where their life was a ghastly slavery. They received no wages; they were clothed in rags; their food was insufficient and of the coarsest kind; and often

employers and employees settle affairs among themselves. Under this system, factories and mines became death traps for the women and children who worked in them. The evil was aggravated by the abominable poor law, which made paupers of one-seventh of England's population. Crime increased; society became brutalized. The tone of the law courts was low — judges browbeat the prisoners, lawyers bullied the witnesses, and the whole administration of law and justice savored of barbarism. It is difficult to realize the cruelty and injustice shown by men of the privileged classes for those who were without political influence, money, title, or certain employment.

362. Political Unrest (1815–1820). — Politically as well as industrially the years immediately following the return of peace were characterized by agitation and unrest.

The king, George III, an old man and at times insane, was ruling under the regency of his son, the Prince of Wales. Parliament was representative only of the landowning and moneyed classes, and had little sympathy with the people, and for five years the Tory government which came into power in 1815 did nothing to alleviate the distress of the masses. Under such circumstances, leaders arose who did not believe in moderation or compromise, but who desired radical changes. These men were called Radicals, and they tried to gain their ends by agitation. A series of popular movements culminated in the famous gathering at St. Peter's field, Manchester, in 1819, where fifty thousand persons met to protest against the policy

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they had to eat standing at their work, while the machinery was in motion. They were driven to work from twelve to sixteen hours a day, often by inhuman torture; they had no holidays, and the few hours for sleep were spent in filthy beds, from which some other relay of little workers had just been roused. Schooling or recreation there was none; and the poor little waifs — girls as well as boys — grew up, if they lived at all, amid shocking and brutal immorality. When one batch of such labor had been used up, another was always ready, at practically no cost; and the employers showed a disregard for even the mere physical well-being of their 'white slaves,' such as no negro-driver could ever afford toward his costly black chattels."— West, *Modern History*.

of the government. The cavalry broke up the crowd and killed half a dozen people, whence the name "Massacre of Peterloo."

Parliament now passed (November, 1819) the Six Acts, — called the "Gag Laws," — the most important of which prohibited public meetings for the consideration of grievances. The government was also unfortunate in its other measures. In 1815 it had passed the first Corn Law, which practically put a tariff on foreign corn; and that, too, in the face of great scarcity of corn at home. The Corn Law was passed in the interest of the landowners, and it increased the distress of the poor, who could not buy corn on account of its high price. At the same time parliament removed the income tax. Each of these measures made more intense than before the hatred that the poor classes felt against the rich.

363. Beginning of Reform. — At the death of George III in 1820, his son came to the throne as George IV. A new group of men now came forward, chief among whom were Canning, Huskisson, Sir John Russell, and Sir Robert Peel. In 1822, when Peel became Home Secretary and Canning Foreign Secretary in the cabinet, the era of reform may be said to begin. These men were moderate Tories, who had an appreciation of the needs of the country, and they straightway went about the work of reform. In 1823 the criminal code was made more civilized by the abolition of the death penalty for about a hundred offences. In the same year, acting under the guidance of Huskisson, parliament reduced the customs duties on raw materials, modified the Navigation Acts, cut down the interest on the national debt, and made the Corn Law less rigid. In 1824 it permitted working men to form trade unions.

But most important of all was the measure granting to Roman Catholics full political rights. George IV was as bitter against this measure as his father had been, but the House of Commons was favorable. For four years the question was agitated, till finally Peel brought forward a measure, which was passed on April 13, 1829, restoring to the Roman Catholics membership in parliament, the right to hold all military offices, and

nearly every civil office. Though king, House of Lords, and people at large were opposed to the measure, it became law, because civil war was threatened in Ireland, and something had to be done. This measure, a simple act of justice, effected an important political change in admitting a body of new and influential men into parliament. Already in 1828 Dissenters had been allowed to hold office in the towns and under the crown. But Unitarians and Jews were still debarred from parliament.

364. Need of Electoral and Parliamentary Reform. — The question of extending to the middle classes the right to vote had been before the country for half a century. Thus far the obstinacy of the aristocracy and moneyed classes, the distractions of the long war with Napoleon, and the excessive demands of the Radicals, who wished universal suffrage, had combined to prevent the adoption of any measure extending the franchise. But the industrial revolution, supplementing the religious revival of Wesley, had given new importance to the men whose industry was the chief source of British wealth and the backbone of British commerce. The American Revolution and the establishment of the republic in France had tended to make those without political rights in England discontented with their position and determined to gain for themselves a share in government. The electoral system was notoriously unfair. Parliament was made up of 658 members so distributed that ten southern counties had nearly as many members as the thirty central and northern counties.[1] The boroughs of

[1] The boroughs of Cornwall, for example, had returned for two centuries and a half forty-four members, and this number was not decreased until 1821, when Grampound was disenfranchised. Thus this under-populated county returned as many borough members, less one, as all Scotland, and more by two than the densely populated counties of Durham, Northumberland, and York. Bossiney in Cornwall was a hamlet of three cottages, possessing nine electors, eight of whom belonged to one family. Yet this hamlet sent two members to parliament. Michell had five voters; Gatton, seven; Old Sarum had no voters at all — yet each was represented in parliament. There were in Cornwall about one thousand voters and forty-two members; of the latter twenty were actually controlled by seven peers, twenty-one by eleven commoners, and only one was in any sense of the word freely elected.

the south had more than their fair share of representatives, while those of the active and populous north sent fewer mem-

From a photograph.

OLD SLATE HOUSES IN TINTAGEL, CORNWALL.

bers to parliament than they should have done according to their population.

Besides being unfairly distributed, these members were not *representative.* Of the entire body of members less than a third were in any sense of the word elected. The others came from "pocket boroughs," whose representatives were named by influential individuals or families; or from "rotten boroughs," some of which were not boroughs at all, but were places almost uninhabited, where the right to return members was controlled by one or more property owners.[1] For a century this condition

[1] The duke of Norfolk could control eleven seats. It is generally estimated that of the 658 members of parliament, 487 were named by single individuals. Seventy members came from thirty-five boroughs with almost no electors at

of things had prevailed. Something had been done to check bribery and corruption; but nothing whatever had been done to extend the right to vote, to make the methods of voting uniform among the towns and counties, or to give to great and growing towns, like Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, and Sheffield, a share in representation.

From a portrait painting.

WILLIAM IV.

365. The Fight for Electoral Reform. — On June 26, 1830, George IV died, and his brother, a popular and genial sailor, with fewer prejudices than his Hanoverian predecessors had possessed, came to the throne as William IV. The question of electoral reform was especially helped at this time by the Revolution of 1830 in France which had overturned a king there, and by the opening of the Liverpool and Manchester Railroad which demonstrated that the north and midland regions were the

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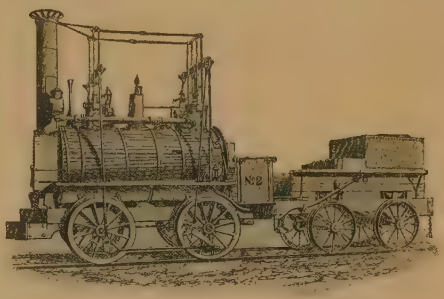
all ; ninety from forty-five places with less than fifty electors ; thirty-seven from nineteen places with not more than one hundred electors. Bribery went on wholesale: electors, elected, and even whole borough corporations were bought. Sudbury offered itself for sale in public advertisement; Oxford openly sold its representatives; men occasionally bid as at an auction for the corporation vote; holders of the pocket boroughs made it known publicly that they were open to offers. Other instances are equally notorious, where the right to name representatives was traded in by purchasers.

industrial centres of Britain and that they were unfairly represented. When parliament met, however, Wellington opposed all attempts at reform and thereby wrecked his ministry and his party, the conservative Tories. At once he was overthrown by a union of discontented Tories with the Whigs. His place was taken by Earl Grey, a Whig and a liberal, whose ministry was committed to the cause of electoral reform.



From a contemporary drawing.

THE FIRST STEAM ENGINE.

In the competition held in Manchester, 1829, for the trying out of the locomotive engines, George and Robert Stephenson easily won the award. One of the losers was John Ericsson, who later emigrated to America and was the inventor of the ironclad *Monitor* which defeated the *Merrimac*, 1862.

In March, 1831, Lord John Russell brought in the First Reform Bill,[1] but it was defeated. Then the ministry appealed to the country, and a new parliament was elected. A second bill was passed only to be rejected by the House of Lords. The excitement in the country rose to fever-heat. Even the working classes, who were not benefited by the bill, joined in the agitation. Associations were formed, mass-meetings held, and

[1] Lord Russell, in introducing the bill, asked the House to consider the amazement of a stranger who had come to observe the boasted representative institutions of England and was shown a ruined mound (Old Sarum) and was told that it sent two representatives to parliament; and then taken to a stone wall with three niches in it (Corfe Castle) and was told that it sent two representatives to parliament; and then to a green park (Gatton) containing no sign of human habitation, only to discover that this park had two representatives in parliament; while prosperous and flourishing cities like Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, and Sheffield, some with over one hundred thousand inhabitants, had no representatives at all.

processions planned in London, Manchester, Birmingham, and other central and northern cities. Probably at no time in English history had excitement been so intense or so widespread. When, in December, 1831, parliament passed a third bill, the Lords did not dare reject it, fearing civil war. But they tried to amend it. Earl Grey asked William IV to create enough new peers to carry the bill, but the king refused. Grey resigned. Then William IV called on Wellington to form a ministry; but the Tory party had lost its unity in the face of the popular agitation, and Wellington could do nothing. Grey returned to office and the passage of the Reform Bill was assured. The Lords who opposed the measure, when threatened by the king with the appointment of enough new peers to carry the bill, refrained from voting, and on June 7, 1832, the measure became law.

366. The Reform Bill of 1832. — By the Reform Act, the first measure of its kind in English history, the franchise was given to the middle classes — in the counties to all copyholders and leaseholders (farmers and tenants) of land worth £10 a year, and to tenants-at-will holding an estate worth £50 a year; and in the boroughs to all holders of houses worth £10 a year. But by placing a property qualification on the right to vote, it denied that right to the industrial, agricultural, and mining classes. The actual number of voters was increased from four hundred and thirty thousand to six hundred and fifty thousand; that is, one in every twenty-one of the population became an elector. The voting qualification was for the first time made uniform throughout Great Britain and voting methods were vastly improved by a system of registration, by the adoption of smaller voting districts, and by the fixing of a time limit of two days within which the vote must be cast.

Just as important as this extension of the franchise was the redistribution of seats in parliament. Many boroughs were deprived of their members, or had their membership reduced. Of the seats thus gained sixty-five were given to the English, eight to the Scottish, and five to the Irish counties; the other

County Map of
ENGLAND
and
WALES
SCALE OF MILES
0 10 20 40 60 80
SCOTLAND
Firth of Forth
North Channel
IRELAND
Solway
NORTH SEA
IRISH SEA
St. George's Channel
Bristol Channel
English Channel
ATLANTIC OCEAN
FRANCE
Tyne R.
Humber R.
The Wash
R. Dee
Severn R.
Newcastle
Durham
Carlisle
Lancaster
York
Liverpool
Manchester
Chester
Lincoln
Nottingham
Derby
Stafford
Leicester
Birmingham
Warwick
Worcester
Hereford
Gloucester
Oxford
Cambridge
Ipswich
Norwich
London
Bristol
Bath
Cardiff
Swansea
Carmarthen
Pembroke
Brecon
Monmouth
Aberystwith
Bangor
Holyhead
Penbigh
Caernarvon
Merioneth
Cardigan
Montgomery
Radnor
Salop
Chester
Denbigh
Flint
Anglesey
Isle of Man
Isle of Wight
Southampton
Brighton
Dorchester
Plymouth
Falmouth
Exeter
Taunton
Wilts
Somerset
Devon
Dorset
Hants
Surrey
Sussex
Kent
Essex
Suffolk
Norfolk
Cambridge
Huntingdon
Northampton
Rutland
Lincoln
Nottingham
Derby
Leicester
Warwick
Stafford
Worcester
Hereford
Gloucester
Oxford
Berks
Bucks
Hertford
Middlesex
Monmouth
Glamorgan
Pembroke
Cardigan
Carmarthen
Brecon
Radnor
Montgomery
Merioneth
Caernarvon
Anglesey
Denbigh
Flint
Cheshire
Lancaster
Yorkshire
Durham
Northumberland
Cumberland
Westmoreland
Longitude West 2° from Greenwich 0° East

seventy-eight seats were distributed among the midland towns, such as Manchester and Birmingham. Thus the House of Commons became, as it had never been before, an elective and representative body, though only of the upper and middle classes.

367. Further Reforms. — In the autumn of 1832, as was to be expected, the new voters sent up a large majority for the Whig ministers. The old Whig party, now counting the Radicals among their numbers, took the name Liberals, and the Tories, realizing the great unpopularity of their party name, began to call themselves the Conservatives. This victory of the Liberals ushered in a series of remarkable reforms that began the social and administrative regeneration of England. It was not enough merely to reform the constitution of the central government, it was equally important to improve the administration of local affairs in the towns and counties.

Reform of the Poor Law. — The first great reform undertaken by parliament was in the administration of the Poor Law. Bad laws and incompetent management had brought affairs into a deplorable condition and the report of a commission appointed in 1834 showed the population of England sinking lower and lower in physical and moral degradation. By the act of August, 1834, a far-reaching change was effected. Parishes were combined with unions in each of which was elected a board of guardians, to administer relief in efficient and economical fashion, and over all were the Poor Law Commissioners appointed by the government. Though many additional changes were to be made after 1834, the main features of the Poor Law system were established at that time, the most important of which was the taking of the administration of the law out of the hands of the justices of the peace, the *local gentry*, and giving it to a *board of guardians elected by the tax payers.* This was the substitution of a democratic for an aristocratic system.

Municipal Reform. — Equally important was the reform of the government of the towns and cities. Before 1835 borough customs varied everywhere, and the report of a commission dis-

closed such a chaos of misgovernment and corruption as to arouse amazement that such a condition of things had been endured so long. The Municipal Corporations Act of September, 1835, created a *uniform system* of government for the *towns*. This system was based on the idea that the burgesses of a town have a right to manage their own affairs. Henceforth the towns of England, Scotland, and Ireland were democratic in character.

Health Laws. — A third great measure concerned the public health of England. The first great public health act was not passed until 1848, when a general board was created. This board, acting through local boards, looked after sewage, drainage, water supply, burial grounds, and offensive and dangerous trades. The system was much changed afterward, and it was not until 1875 that the great Public Health Act of to-day was passed. It is difficult for us to realize how neglectful people had been in the earlier period of the most ordinary precautions against disease and epidemics. Filth, pollution, and contamination everywhere abounded, but the health acts were to make England a cleaner and healthier country.

368. Other Reforms. — Many other reforms were carried out, often through the agitation of private individuals. Greatest of these, from a humanitarian point of view, was the abolition of the slave trade. In 1807 the slave trade had been done away with in the British colonies, and in 1833 the whole system, as far as Great Britain was concerned, was abolished. The government appropriated £20,000,000 to compensate slave owners for their losses, and allowed them, in the way of service, three-fourths of the slave's time for twelve years. About the same time the earl of Shaftesbury began his great work in behalf of better treatment for lunatics, of workers in mills and factories, mines and collieries, especially women and children, and of the improvement of the dwellings of the poor. A dozen important acts of parliament represent the endeavors of this great philanthropist during a period of nearly sixty years to improve the physical and moral condition of the people of England.

Others labored in the same cause. An attempt was made to encourage education; prisons and asylums were improved; whipping posts and pillories were abolished; the postal service

QUEEN VICTORIA AT THE TIME OF HER CORONATION.

From a portrait — painter unknown — in Westminster Abbey.

was simplified and extended; postage stamps were introduced in 1840, and postage was reduced to a penny (English), that is, two cents. In 1836 the stamp duty on newspapers was lowered; in 1855 it was got rid of altogether, and in consequence

the circulation of newspapers increased enormously, and many new papers were established.

369. Queen Victoria. — When William IV died in 1837, the next heir to the throne was his niece, Victoria, the eighteen year old daughter of the duke of Kent. To her long reign of nearly sixty-four years has been fitly given the name of the Victorian Era. It was a period of transition, during which Great Britain and the British Empire of to-day were created. That Great Britain was able to pass through this great period of her history without serious disturbance is in no small degree due to Queen Victoria. Trained and guided during her early years by the Whig minister, Lord Melbourne, and afterward (1840–1861) aided and advised by her husband, Albert of Saxe-Coburg, the prince consort, she developed a remarkable knowledge of the principles and practices of constitutional government, and displayed a rare judgment in the exercise of the royal prerogatives. With the accession of Victoria, Hanover was separated from the crown and given to the youngest son of George III, and Great Britain withdrew more and more from Continental affairs.

370. Cabinet Government under Victoria. — The Whigs under Lord Melbourne were in power when Victoria came to the throne and in the main, the Whigs, or Liberals, remained the leading party until 1874. In 1846 the Conservative party divided on the free trade question; the protectionist wing, or old Conservatives, were led by Derby and Disraeli, and the free trade, or liberal, Conservatives by Gladstone. This break in the Conservative ranks strengthened the Liberal party.[1]

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[1] Summary of ministers under Victoria:

Peel	Conservative	1841–1846
Russell	Liberal	1847–1852
Derby	Conservative	1852
Aberdeen	Liberal	1853–1855
Palmerston	Liberal	1855–1858
Derby-Disraeli	Conservative	1858–1859
Palmerston	Liberal	1859–1865
Russell	Liberal	1865–1866

After 1841 cabinet and parliamentary government became firmly established. The queen gave up all right of appointing ministries and always selected the man who could command a majority in the House of Commons. She demanded, however, that her ministers keep her fully informed of all that was being done, and that they should not change a measure after it had received the royal sanction. The rise of the prime minister within the cabinet gave unity to the entire cabinet, which thenceforth was invariably selected from one party and always resigned as a whole when the majority was against it. When supported by a majority in the House of Commons, the ministry wielded practically absolute power, and the prime minister was the head of the government.[1]

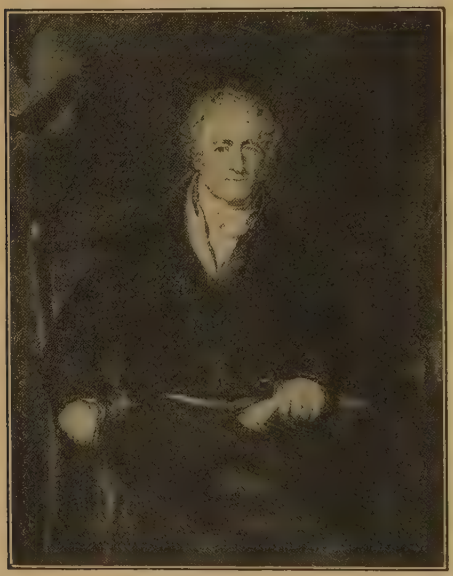
371. The Chartist Movement. — The Radicals deemed the reform of 1832 only a stepping stone to universal suffrage, but the leaders of the Liberals had no intention of extending further the right to vote. When the Radicals found that the government would do nothing for them, they began a series of demonstrations, known as the Chartist movement, because those engaged in it presented their claims in the form of a charter. The movement began in 1837, when the House of Commons, by a vote of five hundred to twenty-two, refused to consider further electoral reforms. The Radicals, in alliance with the workingmen who believed that an extension of the right to vote would relieve their misery, organized meetings, and presented to parliament a great petition, which embodied their demands.

This charter demanded the following six points: (1) universal suffrage; (2) secret ballot; (3) pay for representatives;

Disraeli (1866–1868, 1875–1880) and Gladstone (1869–1874, 1880–1885), alternating; Gladstone (January–July, 1886, 1892–1894), Rosebery (1894–1895), and Salisbury (1885–1886, 1886–1892, 1895–1902), alternating.

[1] The last attempt of the crown to resist the will of the cabinet was in 1839, when Victoria, acting on the advice of Melbourne, refused to change the ladies of the bedchamber to suit the complexion of the new Peel ministry. Therefore Peel refused to continue in office. When, in 1841, the Whigs again suffered defeat and Peel formed a new ministry, the queen yielded the point and the ladies of the bedchamber were selected from Conservative families.

(4) abolition of property qualifications; (5) annual elections; and (6) better distribution of parliamentary seats throughout the country. Three times (1839, 1842, and 1848) were petitions drawn up, signed by thousands of people, and presented to parliament amid great excitement. But the Chartists did not form a society, or create an organization of any kind, and the movement came to nothing, for the great mass of the English people were not ready for the changes that the Radicals demanded.



Sir Robert Peel.

From Robinson's engraving after the portrait by Sir Thomas Lawrence in the National Portrait Gallery, London.

372. Free Trade in Wheat. — Back of the Chartist movement lay the discontent of the working classes, who saw in the protective system the reason why prices were high. They wanted the repeal of customs duties, notably that on corn (wheat), which made bread dear. To the same end worked a group of men composing the free trade party, led by Richard Cobden, a Manchester cotton merchant, and John Bright, and in 1838 this party won over to their cause Peel, prime minister and the head of the Conservatives. Peel yielded, believing that both the poverty in England and the famine in Ireland could be traced to the system of protection.

In 1842 Peel abolished all remaining export duties, and reduced import duties on seven hundred and fifty articles consumed in Great Britain. He made up the loss in revenue by reëstablishing the tax on all incomes of £150 and over. In the same year, turning his attention to the Corn (wheat) Laws, he forced his party to reduce the duty on wheat by an arrangement known as the "sliding scale" — that is, that the duty should increase when the price of home wheat fell and decrease when it rose. In 1845 the Whig, Lord John Russell, announced his conversion to free trade in wheat, and Peel, with the aid of the Whigs, passed in 1846 a measure repealing the Corn Laws, thus giving England free trade in wheat. This was the time when Gladstone and other free traders left the Conservative party, giving added strength to the Liberals.

373. Struggle for Home Rule in Ireland. — The third great issue of the early years of Queen Victoria's reign was that of the Irish, who wished a parliament separate from that of Great Britain. The leader of the movement was Daniel O'Connell, who thrilled his countrymen with promises of a parliament for Ireland. The movement reached its height in 1843. A "Young Ireland" party was formed, and enormous mass-meetings were held, where angry and seditious words were spoken. But O'Connell, though a demagogue, was not a law-breaker; and when the government forbade the Irish to bear arms and ordered their meetings to disperse, he yielded, and declared that he would not lead an Irish revolt. This determination hurt his cause with the Irish. From that time his power over his people began to decline, and in 1846 the whole Irish movement collapsed. For nearly twenty years the Irish people remained quiet, suffering hunger and poverty, and constantly liable to eviction at the hands of absentee landlords.

374. Peace and Prosperity. — In 1851 England seemed at the height of peace and prosperity. Free trade had been extended by the repeal of the Navigation Acts in 1849; material prosperity had been promoted by a rapid increase in commerce; pauperism had been checked by the new Poor Laws; drunken-

ness had been diminished by the efforts of the total abstinence societies, the sanitary condition of the towns improved by the public health measures, and crime lessened by the establishment of a better police system. A spiritual awakening had followed a series of new religious movements, of which the Tractarian, or Oxford movement, was the most important. Literature took a practical turn: Macaulay defended the rule of the middle-class Whigs, in his *History of England;* Grote glorified the cause of democracy, in his *History of Greece;* Dickens, in *Pickwick Papers,* and Thackeray, in *Vanity Fair,* portrayed vividly the life of the upper and lower classes of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; while Carlyle, in *Sartor Resartus,* and Tennyson, in *In Memoriam,* struck a new note of sincerity, duty, and justice. A great industrial exhibition promoted by the prince consort in 1851 seemed to inaugurate an era of peaceful commercial intercourse with all the world.

But the era of peace had not yet come. In 1848 another revolution in France ended in the establishment of the second French Republic and stirred up the discontented masses in Italy, Austria, and Prussia to revolt and demand constitutions. The Continent was stirred to its very depths. Some years later came wars in Germany, Italy, and the United States, to establish or maintain national unity, a problem which Great Britain had solved peacefully for herself.

375. The Eastern Question: the Crimean War. — In 1850 the Greek and Roman Catholic churches quarrelled over the control of certain sacred places in the Holy Land. The Czar, as the head of the Greek church, took up the cause of the Greek Christians, and Louis Napoleon, president of the new French Republic, championed the cause of the Roman Catholics. The Czar demanded of the Sultan the right to act as the protector of all the Greek Christians in the Ottoman Empire. Great Britain suspected that the Czar's purpose was to divide Turkey among the powers, in order that he himself might seize Constantinople. When, therefore, in 1853 Czar Nicholas declared

war against Turkey, sent troops into her territory, and destroyed a Turkish fleet in the Black Sea (November 4), the British people rose in wrath and indignation and demanded war against Russia.

The chief reason for this demand was the belief that if Russia seized Constantinople, the British route to India would be cut off, and India threatened with attack. Louis Napoleon, crowned Napoleon III, emperor of the French in 1852, also wanted the glory of a successful war to make himself more popular with his new subjects. British suspicion and hatred of Russia forced the English prime minister, Aberdeen, against his will to join with Napoleon in a declaration of war, March, 1854. Troops were despatched to the Dardanelles; and in September, 1854, the Crimean War was begun. This great duel, between Russia on one side, and England, France, Turkey, and eventually Sardinia on the other, lasted for a year.

After the bloody victory of the *Alma* and two indecisive battles (*Balaklava* [1] and *Inkerman*), the allies settled down to the siege of *Sevastopol*, the great Russian fortress (December, 1854). The winter of 1854 and 1855 was one of misery, suffering, and death for British and French soldiers alike, due to insufficient food, bad housing, epidemics, and poor hospital service.[2] In England popular wrath at the inefficiency of the government drove Aberdeen from the ministry (1855). His successor, Palmerston, pushed the war with vigor, and finally, after careful preparations and many assaults, Sevastopol was taken, on September 5, 1855. The British people, having made their preparations for a continuation of the war, were loath to bring the struggle to a close; but the other powers were tired of the conflict and believed that Russia had suffered enough.

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[1] Special report: The Charge of the Light Brigade.

[2] It was in the Crimean War that Florence Nightingale began her work as an army nurse, which resulted in the widespread "Red Cross" movement, the improvement of hospital conditions, and the establishment of a training school for nurses. "The Angel of the Crimea," as Miss Nightingale was called, died in England, August, 1910.

In January, 1856, peace was agreed upon; and in April, at the *Congress of Paris*, the final treaty was signed.

The diplomats at Paris declared the Ottoman Empire a European power in good standing, and pledged themselves to maintain its integrity; this was really a victory for Great Britain as it prevented further encroachments upon Turkey by Russia.

376. India: the Great Mutiny. — Had the route to India really been threatened by the Czar, the war might well have been worth what it cost; for India was rapidly becoming one of Great Britain's greatest possessions. Since the days of Wellesley (duke of Wellington) the conquest of India had gone steadily on. The marquis of Hastings extended the powers of the East India Company and brought to an end the wars with the native tribes. In 1813 the company's monopoly of the Indian trade was taken away, and in 1833, when its charter was renewed, the monopoly of trade with China was abolished. This new arrangement limited the business of the company to matters of administration and greatly improved its rule.

But the governor-general, Lord Dalhousie, in 1849 unfortunately began to annex vassal states, forcing upon them British methods of administration and law without regard to native customs and prejudices. In consequence there was a widespread discontent, which needed only a direct and special grievance to break into open revolt. The introduction of a cartridge greased, as was believed, with cow's or pig's fat was interpreted as an attempt of the British to deprive the native soldiers of their caste. In using (biting) the cartridge, Mohammedans, to whom swine were unholy, deemed themselves defiled; and Hindoos, to whom the cow was sacred, thought themselves guilty of sacrilege.

In 1857 the Sepoy[1] regiments of Calcutta and Delhi mutinied, and soon most of northern India was in revolt. British

[1] Sepoys are natives with some regular army training.

officers were shot, women and children massacred, and barracks and quarters destroyed. The slaughter of Cawnpore (1857) was only the worst of many tragedies. The *siege of Delhi* (1857), the defence and relief of *Lucknow* (1857), the second capture of Lucknow, and the final defeat of the rebels (June, 1858) were the chief events in a great struggle which, after the mutiny was suppressed, led parliament to abolish the East India Company, and to take India under the control of the British government.

377. Relations with China. — The East India Company had extended its trade to the country on the borders of India and in this way came into conflict with China. With increase of trade went increase of smuggling, particularly in opium, the importation of which into China was rigidly forbidden. Attempts of Chinese officials to enforce this regulation gradually brought on the Opium War of 1839–1842. This war was dishonorable to Great Britain from any point of view, but it brought about the overthrow of China's policy of isolation. The treaty of Nanking (1842) threw open five Chinese ports to British trade and ceded Hongkong to Great Britain, and thus gave the British a foothold in China long before other nations had thought of concerning themselves with affairs in the Pacific. A second treaty (1860), after another war, opened additional ports to the British. About the same time Japan, as a result of the United States naval expedition, 1852, began to admit the commerce of a few nations to her ports, and in so doing created a new market for British goods.

378. The Colonial Problem. — At the same time the British colonies in the west and south were claiming England's attention. Canada and the West Indies, oldest of the colonies remaining to Great Britain in America, had both suffered from bad management. But now responsible government and colonial control of expenditures were granted to the Canadians. This new policy culminated in the creation of modern Canada by the Act of 1867, which joined all the Canadian provinces except Newfoundland into the single "Dominion of Canada,"

with a single constitution for all. In the West Indies the emancipation of the slaves, and the introduction of free trade destroying the West Indian monopoly of British trade had aroused resentment, which in Jamaica took the form of protest in 1836 and of revolt in 1865.

The colonies in Africa and the Pacific were deemed at first by British statesmen useless and expensive possessions. Australia had been employed as a convenient place for transporting criminals; but when systematic colonization began, about 1830, in Australia, New Zealand, Tasmania, and The Cape, questions of convicts, squatters, land sales, emigrants, and the relations with natives engaged the attention of parliament. Government in these distant lands was at first largely military, and when a regular civil administration was introduced, everything was managed from the government offices in Downing Street, London.

This policy gave way, soon after 1830, to another, based on the Whig doctrine of letting the colonies alone. Statesmen began to advocate the plan of granting to the colonies responsible government, with the right to manage their own affairs and to conduct their own military defence. The reorganization of Canada in 1840 was in the main an application of the "let alone" policy. The introduction of representative institutions in Australia began in 1842, and was carried forward by a great constitutional act in 1850. New Zealand received attention in 1846 and again in 1853. Many British statesmen thought these measures meant eventual separation of the colonies from the mother country; but others, with more foresight, believed that colonial self-government was not inconsistent with loyal attachment to Great Britain. This faith was to find ample justification later, when, after 1880, the idea of a union of mother country and colonies in a great federal empire began to take hold of men's thoughts and to shape the policy of the government.

379. Relations with the United States: the Trent Affair. — The Civil War in America stirred the British people deeply, and the

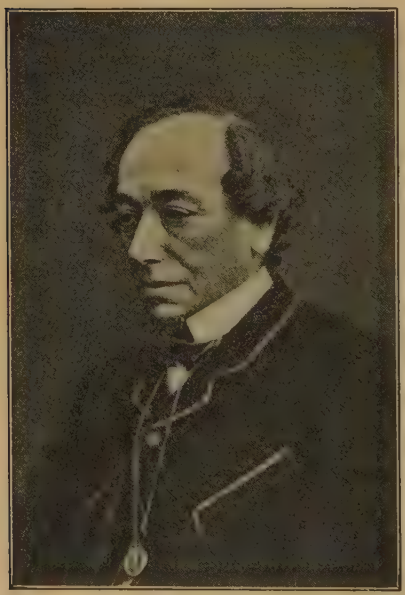
opinions and sympathies of statesmen and people were much divided. In the main, the upper classes and government officials, even Gladstone, upheld the cause of the South, while the working classes and radical leaders were almost to a man in sympathy with the North. This sympathy was the more remarkable in that the Northern blockade of Southern ports brought on a cotton famine in Lancashire that caused terrible distress among the employees of the cotton mills, and affected workmen in other trades, also. Their attitude, due to abhorrence of slavery, without doubt influenced the government to preserve strict neutrality. But through gross carelessness of the ministry England violated this neutrality in allowing the Confederate government to fit out in English ports cruisers to prey upon the commerce of the North. For this indiscretion England was compelled in a court of arbitration (1871) to pay $15,000,000 to the United States.

England refused to join with Napoleon III in recognizing the Southern states, but came very near going to war in what is known as "the Trent Affair." Captain Wilkes of the United States Navy stopped an English mail steamer, the *Trent*, and took off two Southerners, who were going to Europe to seek aid for the Southern cause. Great Britain, on the ground that the right to search neutral vessels in time of war had been given up by the European powers at the Congress of Paris, in 1856, demanded the surrender of the commissioners. The United States had not been represented at the Congress of Paris, but President Lincoln declared that the United States had always opposed the right of search; Queen Victoria and the prince consort threw their influence on the side of peace; the commissioners were surrendered and the danger was past.

380. New Parties and New Issues. — Meanwhile in England the material condition of the working classes had been improving; and they had not only begun to band together in trade unions and federations, but were holding congresses to discuss questions relating to themselves and their welfare. They saw that their first efforts must be directed to the great

task of obtaining the right to vote. As long, however, as Palmerston lived and the old Liberals were in control, little was to be expected.

After Palmerston's death in 1865, a new Liberal party began to come to the front. This party, whose leader was Gladstone, adopted in part the doctrines of the Radicals and began to advocate a wider suffrage and new legislation for the improvement of the masses. The cry was "peace, retrenchment, and reform." With the new liberalism went a new conservatism, the chief exponent of which was Disraeli, afterward earl of Beaconsfield. The members of the new Conservative party believed in government for the people rather than by the people. They believed in a moderate extension of the suffrage, but held that legislative power should be in the hands of educated and wealthy men. Their leading articles of political faith were a firm foreign policy, an extension of British territory in all parts of the world, and a federation of all the colonies in a great British empire. This policy differed from that of the Liberals in that it entailed not peace, but war; not retrenchment, but heavy expenditures on army and navy; not legislation shaped only for the United Kingdom, but legislation for the greater Britain at home and beyond the seas.



From a photograph.

DISRAELI, LORD BEACONSFIELD.

381. The Second Reform Bill. — As both parties favored some extension of the franchise, the Russell-Gladstone ministry in 1866 brought in a reform bill, but it was defeated by a party of old Liberals, who opposed electoral reform. The Derby-Disraeli ministry that followed introduced another bill, because it desired to show the working classes that, after all, the Conservatives were their best friends. This measure, after many amendments, was passed in August, 1867.

This Reform Bill of 1867 granted a suffrage that was far from universal. In the boroughs it gave the right to vote to *all* householders instead of, as formerly, only to those who occupied houses worth £10 a year. It also allowed all lodgers to vote who had resided for a year in the borough and occupied rooms renting for at least £10 a year unfurnished. The only change that was made in the counties was the reduction of the property qualification from £10 to £5 and the introduction of a new "occupation qualification," which allowed a man to vote who had occupied for twelve months a house that was valued at £12 a year. This meant that many inhabitants of boroughs could vote and that a large number of small farmers in the counties could do the same. The increase nearly doubled the number of voters and destroyed the supremacy of the middle classes. It led to a more definite organization of the older parties, to increased political activity of the socialists and the trade unions, and to the election of a few workingmen to the House of Commons. Though miners and agricultural laborers were still denied the right to vote, England, by the act of 1867, took a long step in the direction of a popular franchise.

382. Gladstone's First Reform Ministry. — In 1868 parliament was dissolved and new elections were held under the reform act of 1867. New voters appeared, elections were contested as they never had been before, and electors scanned carefully the legislative programmes of the two parties. The new Liberals — Liberals and Radicals — won by a majority of one hundred and twenty, and Gladstone at once formed a ministry committed to an important programme of reform.

The first measures that were introduced concerned Ireland. In July, 1869, parliament passed a bill disestablishing the Irish state church (that is, the Anglican). In May, 1870, it passed an Irish land bill, to protect tenants from eviction as long as they paid their rents and to compel landlords to compensate evicted tenants for improvements made. The bill also

From a photograph.

HAWARDEN CASTLE, THE HOME OF GLADSTONE.

provided for government loans for the purchase of tenancies, the loan to be paid back to the government by the tenant in annual instalments.

The most important measure resulting from the act of 1867 concerned a national control of elementary education. A bill was passed, August 9, 1870, dividing England into school districts and providing for a system of public elementary schools in the districts. It created school boards to be elected in the towns by the burgesses and in the counties by the ratepayers, and thus placed educational control on a democratic basis under a central authority. After 1870 England had two

systems of elementary schools: (1) voluntary schools, aided partly by the government and partly by voluntary subscriptions, teaching in most cases some religious creed; and (2) public schools, which children between five and twelve were obliged to attend, supported partly by local taxation and partly by the government, and free for those unable to pay, commonly known as board schools.[1] Henceforth the board schools tended to gain at the expense of the voluntary schools. A new education act regulating the control of these schools was passed in 1902; but an attempt in 1906 to extend the non-sectarian board system was defeated largely through the opposition of the Anglicans and Roman Catholics. In higher education an important change was made. In 1871 the universities of Oxford and Cambridge were thrown open to Roman Catholics and Dissenters alike by the abolition of all religious tests.

Then two important changes were made in the army. First, the system of purchasing commissions in the army was abolished, and promotion was made dependent not on rank, but on merit and industry. Secondly, the long term service of twenty-five years was replaced by a short term service, whereby a man after serving at least six years actively in the army was to pass into the reserve, though he was liable at any time during a succeeding six years to be called to the front.

In 1871, in order to conciliate the working classes, Gladstone put through a measure incorporating trade unions and legalizing strikes, but forbidding all acts of intimidation. But Gladstone was trying to do too much, and each measure alienated some part of the British people. A licensing act angered the liquor dealers; the army reform aroused the Conservatives; the elementary education act incensed the Non-conformists;

[1] In England the term "public school" is given to such great endowed schools as Eton, Harrow, Rugby, Winchester, Westminster, St. Paul's, Charterhouse, and Shrewsbury. The public school in England is, therefore, a private school.

the Irish land laws embittered the landlords; and the trade unions act failed to satisfy the workingmen. In 1873 the ministry resigned, and when the new elections of 1874 were held, the Conservatives were victorious, with a majority of fifty. Disraeli became prime minister and Derby minister of foreign affairs. For the first time since 1841 the Conserva-

From a photograph.

THE SUEZ CANAL.

This canal was begun in 1859 by Ferdinand de Lesseps, the French engineer who later began the Panama Canal. It was finished in 1869. In 1875 England became the largest stockholder through the purchase by Lord Beaconsfield of Egypt's shares. It is open to all ships of all nations on equal terms.

tives controlled in the House of Commons a majority upon which they could rely.

383. Disraeli's Imperial Policy: the Indian Empire. — Gladstone had cared but little for affairs abroad, and had rigidly kept free from all foreign entanglements. The new ministry

interested itself to a certain extent in legislation for the benefit of the working classes, but in the main was content with the inauguration of a brilliant foreign policy. Disraeli was interested in India, and he determined to make that possession, in a new and vivid sense, an appanage of the crown.

The Suez Canal had been opened in 1869, and in order to control it, Disraeli, in 1875, purchased, for £4,000,000, the shares belonging to the Khedive of Egypt. The same year he despatched the Prince of Wales to India, ostensibly to hunt tigers, but in reality to awaken a new enthusiasm for Great Britain, and to build up a closer connection between Great Britain and India. The next year Disraeli pushed through parliament a measure called the Royal Titles Bill conferring on the British sovereign the title of Emperor or Empress of India. The climax of this policy came when, in a great meeting at Delhi, the old capital of the Mongols, January 1, 1877, in the presence of a great concourse of sovereigns, Indian nobles and potentates, ambassadors and soldiers, Queen Victoria was formally proclaimed Empress of India.

In dealing with India a strict regard was shown for all the native Indian customs and prejudices, and every effort was made to arouse the enthusiasm of the Indian peoples for Great Britain. Natives were employed on the same footing with Englishmen in the departments of police, finance, and justice; local councils were created, liberty of the press was allowed, and later an Indian national congress, composed of high-caste Brahmins, was permitted to meet to propose and discuss reforms in administration.

384. The Congress of Berlin. — In 1877 Russia declared war against Turkey because of Turkey's atrocious treatment of the Bulgarians. Public opinion in England, roused by Gladstone's speeches, forced Disraeli to remain neutral, though he was suspicious of Russia's designs and was ready to take up arms should Russia seize Constantinople. Russian successes ended the war, but unfortunately the Russian envoy obtained

a treaty which practically dismembered the Ottoman Empire and left the Sultan with little territory in Europe. Immediately Great Britain and Austria declared that they would not accept the treaty, and demanded that it be submitted for revision to a general congress of the European powers. The Czar yielded and in June, 1878, the congress met at Berlin. There Disraeli and Salisbury carried on a diplomatic war with the Russian representative and came off victorious on nearly every point. Turkey was left in possession of the main part of her territory, though Servia, Rumania, and Montenegro were declared independent, and Bulgaria, though remaining under Turkish authority, was given powers of self-government. Great Britain obtained the right to occupy Cyprus. Disraeli returned to England, "bearing peace with honor." But the treaty of Berlin really accomplished little for the solution of the Eastern question.

385. Disraeli's Fall. — In 1878 the old rivalry between Russia and Great Britain brought on a war for the control of Afghanistan. This struggle ended in the placing of Abdurrahman, a friend of England, on the throne as ameer of Afghanistan. Meanwhile, in South Africa the discovery of the diamond fields of Kimberly led England to annex West Griqualand in 1878 and the Transvaal the same year. But on undertaking the subjugation of the neighboring Zulus, she met with an unexpectedly stubborn resistance and not until 1879 was the war successfully completed.

This imperial policy of Disraeli not only proved expensive, but savored somewhat of ostentation. It led to the neglect of home interest, to half-hearted measures of reform, and to widespread discontent in England. When, therefore, the general elections of 1880 were held, the Conservatives were driven from power, and the Liberals, with a parliamentary majority of one hundred, returned to office.

386. Trouble in Ireland. — In this second Gladstone ministry appeared for the first time two members of the Radical party — Joseph Chamberlain and Sir Charles Dilke. Equally

significant was the appearance in the House of Commons of eighty Irish members, under the leadership of Charles Stewart Parnell, an able but unscrupulous champion of the Irish cause. Other leaders in Ireland organized the Irish National Land League (1879), for the purpose of obtaining, if possible, a reform of the Irish land system. The League encouraged the employment of all legitimate methods to injure the landlords. Among them was the "boycott," used for the first time against Captain Boycott, an English agent, who had served notices on certain tenants in County Mayo. But the followers of the League did not always show self-control, and the burning of farms, mutilation of cattle, and other depredations culminated in May, 1882, in the murder of Lord Frederick Cavendish, the newly appointed secretary for Ireland. This gave a severe setback to the Irish cause.

387. The Third Reform Bill (1884). — During this excitement in Ireland Gladstone redeemed a former promise to extend the British franchise and to grant the counties the same privileges that had been given in 1867 to the towns. The agricultural and mining laborers were making themselves felt and were banding together to improve their condition. A measure was passed in February, 1884, giving to both towns and counties a uniform electoral privilege, so that from that time until 1918 every one in England had had a vote for members of parliament except domestic servants, bachelors living with their parents, certain persons who by frequent change of residence were unable to establish the voting privilege, and women. The last named could, however, vote in local elections. Aliens, infants, idiots, paupers, convicts, and persons guilty of corrupt practices at elections could not vote and, naturally, peers were not, and are not now, allowed to vote for members of the House of Commons.

In 1885 a new and very important redistribution of seats in parliament was made, whereby England was divided into electoral districts, each returning one member. A borough with only 15,000 inhabitants voted with the county, boroughs with more inhabitants returned one or more members accord-

ing to size, but each member stood not for the borough, but for each electoral district of the borough. Thus for electoral purposes the distinction between the borough and the county ceased to exist. There were a few exceptions to this rule based on historical privilege. By this act of distribution the membership in parliament was increased from 658 to 670. With the growth of population since 1885 inequalities developed, and Ireland before 1918 was over-represented (1 to 44,000) and England under-represented (1 to 70,000). Some of the electoral districts became much more thickly settled than others, yet each sent up but one member. (See § 407.)

The results of the act of 1884 were almost revolutionary. It changed the working of the English system of government. Parliament tended to become little more than a debating and voting body; the cabinet initiated the great legislative measures and defined the policy of the government. Members of parliament rarely introduced bills of their own. But the cabinet soon ceased to consider itself responsible to parliament only; it looked henceforth to the country for its authority, and if the sentiment of the country were manifestly against it, it resigned, even though it still commanded a majority in parliament. In nearly every case after 1884 the cabinet resigned with a majority in its favor in parliament. Thus in England to-day the cabinet is the supreme executive and legislative power, and the electorate is the sovereign authority. England, despite its monarchy and nobility, is a democratic country.

388. Troubles in Afghanistan, South Africa, and Egypt.— Gladstone was not interested in affairs abroad. In 1880 he had withdrawn the British garrisons from Kabul and Kandahar in Afghanistan. In December of the same year the Boers struck for independence, and defeated the British forces at Langs Nek and Majuba Hill. Then the British government made treaties giving Great Britain control over foreign affairs and leaving the Boers free to manage internal affairs in their own way.

Equally unsuccessful were Great Britain's dealings with Egypt. When the Khedive became bankrupt in 1878, a dual control by Great Britain and France was established. The disorganized condition of Egypt encouraged revolt, and the provinces of the Sudan attempted to throw off the rule of the Khedive. At their head appeared one Mohammed Achmed, claiming to be the Mahdi, or Guide, the representative of Allah on earth. The revolt soon assumed vast proportions, and two armies sent against the Mahdi's followers in 1883 were in large part destroyed. Then the Gladstone ministry despatched General Gordon to Khartum to deal with the Mahdi, but Gordon was surrounded at Khartum by the Sudanese. Gladstone after a dangerous delay was shamed into action by public opinion, and sent a relief expedition under General Wilson, which arrived too late. Khartum had fallen, Gordon had been slain a few days before (January 26, 1885), and the Sudan was lost to the Khedive.

389. Defeat of Home Rule for Ireland. — In 1885 the elections under the new law (Third Reform Bill) resulted in a victory for the Liberals, and Gladstone became prime minister for the third time. The presence of eighty-six Irish Home Rulers in parliament made it evident that if Gladstone were to command a majority, he must advocate measures favorable to home rule. On April 8, 1886, he brought in his first Home Rule Bill. By it he proposed to give Ireland a separate parliament, a separate ministry, and control of taxes. The two countries were to have the same king, and the British parliament was to have a certain control over Irish law-making and Irish revenues; but otherwise Ireland was to be independent of England. The measure aroused great opposition, and was defeated in June, 1886. Unfortunately for the Liberals, this first attempt to grant home rule to Ireland led a body of able men, among them Joseph Chamberlain and John Bright, to withdraw from the Liberal party. These men formed a new group, the Liberal Unionists, so called because, while adhering to Liberal principles, they desired union with Ireland. In 1886, when new elections took

place, the Liberals were defeated, and Lord Salisbury became prime minister.

390. Reforms in the Irish Land System and in Local Government. — The second Salisbury ministry endeavored to conciliate Ireland by reducing rents and by appropriating money to enable tenants to buy their lands. A permanent land commission was appointed, and many tenants made application for loans from the government. This policy was followed by a marked decrease in crime and a falling off of emigration, showing that Ireland was becoming more prosperous and contented. It is noteworthy that before twenty years had passed, the population of Ireland had begun to show an increase. But the demand for home rule remained just as persistent as ever.

After the passage of the Third Reform Bill, it was evident that such changes must be made in county and parish government as would accord with the new democratic tendencies in England. A representative democracy was now the basis of England's central government; it must become the basis of England's local government, also. Four evils existed: (1) county and parish control was in the hands of the justices of the peace, the landed gentry, and was not representative government at all; (2) local administration was exceedingly complicated and confused, for besides the county and the parish there was the poor law union, the school district, highway district, burial district, and other divisions, of which the boundaries rarely agreed; (3) the administration was as complicated as the area, there were many local boards, with different powers, different times and methods of election, different system of voting, and different qualification of candidates; and (4) there was a great variety of local rates or taxes, most annoying to the local ratepayer. The result was chaos in local government.

The first measure introduced in 1888 by the Salisbury government reformed the county government. The justices of the peace were deprived of all powers of administration, which were vested in county councils, composed of representatives

chosen directly by the taxpayers.[1] A complete change was made in the method of paying local rates. In 1889 the system was extended to Scotland.

In 1894 the parishes were taken in hand by the Liberal party, and a measure was passed equally important with that relating to the counties. The powers of the local squire were transferred to a parish council selected by the ratepayers which administered the affairs of the locality. Two important features of these reforms may be noted: they took the selection of the local governing boards from the hands of the crown and placed it in the hands of the ratepayers; and they got rid of the local aristocracy or country gentlemen as far as local administration was concerned. Though further reforms are still to be made, yet in municipalities, counties, and parishes local government to-day is well organized on a democratic basis. With the exception of the hereditary House of Lords (which is likely in time to become a representative body), of the City of London (still governed according to old forms and precedents), and of the local justices of the peace (still possessing certain judicial functions, which will probably be taken from them eventually), class rule has ceased to exist in England.

391. The Second Home Rule Bill (1893). — After the Conservatives had held power for six years, Lord Salisbury decided to appeal to the country in a new election. The elections resulted in a Liberal majority of forty, but a majority wholly dependent on Irish votes. Gladstone had made home rule and the improvement of the condition of labor his chief issues before the electors, and true to his promise he presented on February 13, 1893, his second home rule measure. He demanded for Ireland a legislature of two houses, with power to make laws, and an executive, like a colonial governor. The home rule of this measure was somewhat less extensive than that provided for in 1886. In the House of Commons the debate continued for

[1] London (except the "city") became a county for administrative purposes and was placed under the London County Council.

three months, and the opposition did all in its power to prevent the passage of the bill. The bill was finally carried by a majority of thirty-four; but the House of Lords, feeling that so small a majority, entirely made up of Irish votes, hardly represented the wishes of the British people, defeated the bill by a large majority.

The Liberals were disheartened. During their three years of power they had failed to deal effectively with any of the great social problems. They had wasted time on the home rule question, and the promises of their earlier programmes had not been fulfilled. In the election of 1895 they suffered heavy defeat, and the Conservatives obtained a majority greater than at any other time in their history. Even without the Liberal Unionists, who, since 1886, had been their ardent allies, they would have had full control of the House of Commons.

The Liberal party gradually went to pieces. The withdrawal of the Liberal Unionists had deprived them of some of their ablest members; Gladstone had retired (d. 1898); and their Irish allies were estranged by the failure of the home rule policy. Between 1895 and the general elections of 1900 one Liberal leader after another came to the front: Lord Rosebery, Sir William Harcourt, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman; but before 1900 the party itself seemed completely demoralized. On the other hand, the Conservative party never seemed stronger or more united, and never better able to carry out its policy with efficiency and despatch than in the year 1900.

392. Industrial and Social Reform. — The Conservative ministry was made up of Conservatives and Liberal Unionists, and remained firmly intrenched in office for five years. The new government gave its attention to the demands of the industrial and agricultural classes, and tried to bring about social reform. It concerned itself with hours of labor, but was unsuccessful in carrying an eight-hour law for miners. It passed an employer's liability law which increased the workingman's opportunity of enforcing claims against em-

ployers; a pure food law to prevent adulteration of drugs and foods; it tried to prevent explosions in mines, and to enable

HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT, OTTAWA, CANADA.

occupiers of small dwellings to purchase their homes. It supplemented the land purchase act for Ireland, and created a department of agriculture for that country; it extended the government's ownership of telegraphs and telephones; and, in other ways, increased the government's control of public conveniences. But it must not be supposed that these legislative activities were confined to the Conservatives only. All governments since 1868 had been regulating private activities and extending the authority of the state in matters relating to the welfare of the masses.

393. Era of Arbitration. — Since 1885 other European countries, notably Germany and France, had been increasing their commerce and adding to their colonies. Wherever there were

opportunities for a market, a sphere of influence, or an addition of territory, in Africa, in Asia, or in the islands of the Pacific, there such powers as Great Britain, Germany, France, and Russia were disputing, generally peacefully, for possession. Germany, Austria, and Italy were united in a triple alliance, and France and Russia in a dual alliance, for mutual support and the preservation of peace. Great Britain stood alone, the rival of all, yet on peaceful terms with all.

At the same time diplomacy underwent a change. Foreign relations were no longer limited to the European Continent. After 1885 foreign ministers were interested not only in questions concerning dynasties and treaties, but in colonial boundaries, spheres of influence, rights of possession, trade routes and markets, tariffs and tariff treaties. In the great majority of cases negotiation, agreement, arbitration, and compromise were substituted for wars. When Great Britain and France became involved in disputes that seemed to threaten war, common sense prevailed, and the troubles were settled peacefully. In 1895 a controversy arose between Great Britain and the United States over the question of the boundary between British Guiana and Venezuela, but Lord Salisbury consented to submit the matter to arbitration. Great Britain, Germany, and the United States referred a dispute regarding the Samoan Islands to King Oscar of Sweden, who, in 1902, rendered a decision which all received without demurring.

In 1898 a conference was summoned at The Hague which established an international tribunal of arbitration to which cases of dispute might be referred. This tribunal had its first case in 1902, when it was called upon to settle a dispute between Mexico and the United States. Again, in 1903, Great Britain, Germany, and Venezuela agreed to put into its hands a serious difficulty regarding Venezuela's indebtedness to the first two powers. An important step was taken in 1903 and 1904 when Great Britain and France by treaty agreed to refer disputes of a judicial nature, and Holland and Denmark disputes of any kind whatever, to this tribunal at The Hague.

In 1909 an important dispute between France and Germany was decided by the tribunal, and in 1910 the long-standing disagreement between Great Britain and the United States regarding the Newfoundland fisheries was brought before the court and the decision was accepted by both parties without demur.

In 1900 when the Boxer uprising in China roused the attention of the civilized world, the powers, with a harmony rarely if ever exhibited before, suppressed the murderous revolt; and in the conference that followed from August, 1900, to September, 1901, settled amicably the intricate and difficult questions involved.

394. Great Britain in Egypt. — The recovery of the Sudan in upper Egypt was begun in 1896, when General Kitchener gradually pushed southward toward Khartum. On April 8, 1898, was fought the *battle of the Atbara;* on September 2, that of *Omdurman.* By these two British victories the power of the dervishes was broken and the Sudan restored to Egypt. On January 5, 1899, was laid the corner-stone of the Gordon Memorial College at Khartum; and a few weeks afterward a convention was signed with Egypt, giving Great Britain control in the equatorial region south of the 22° of north latitude. In March the boundary between the French and British spheres of influence was defined, and the last cause of difficulty of that kind seemed to be removed. Great Britain had long ago promised to withdraw from Egypt, but had stayed because she did not consider that security had been permanently established. She has without doubt contributed to the material and moral improvement of the people of Egypt, and the necessity of her "veiled protectorate" over Egypt has gradually been recognized. In an Anglo-French agreement of 1904 France accepted the existing situation, and only Turkey, whose suzerainty over Egypt was merely nominal, and the national party in Egypt, which wanted home rule for the Egyptians, remained to protest. (See § 448.)

395. The Australian Federation. — A movement looking to the federation of the colonies in Australia began as early as 1883

But union was difficult to effect. Finally, in 1899, a federal constitution was adopted by all the colonies including Tasmania, and in July, 1900, this constitution was accepted by the British parliament, thus creating the federal commonwealth of Australia, under the crown of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. The opening of the first federal parliament at Melbourne in 1901 began a new era in this part of the British world. The most important questions in Australia concerned labor, revenue, the tariff, commerce, and industry. There was no nobility and no state church, and education was widely distributed. Until 1908 Great Britain supplied naval defence, but at that time measures were taken looking to the establishment of a small local navy and militia.

396. The Boer War. — Equally noteworthy was the rapid advance of the British in South Africa. Since the founding of the German colonies by Bismarck in 1884 and the discovery of gold in the Transvaal in 1886, British interest in the interior lands of southern Africa had vastly increased. During the years that followed, British colonists had pushed northward into the land afterward called Rhodesia. By 1896 British territory in South Africa comprised Cape Colony, Rhodesia, British Central Africa or northern Rhodesia, and Nyassaland. Telegraph lines were carried through the new territory, and a railroad, the "Cape to Cairo" line, was planned to connect in Uganda with the Egyptian road already built as far south as Khartum. This rapid advance of the British cut off the Boer states from the interior; and, in consequence of a special arrangement made by Great Britain with Portugal, who possessed Mozambique, they were also cut off from the sea.

By the treaty of 1884 (p. 392) the British suzerainty over the Boers had been restricted to foreign relations, but the discovery of gold brought so many immigrants into the Transvaal that Johannesburg became a city not of Boers but of foreigners. Discontent soon arose, owing to the narrow policy of the Boers, and in 1895, a conspiracy known as the "Jameson raid" was formed for the overthrow of the Boer government. This un-

fortunate attempt greatly injured the cause of the foreigners, and threw power into the hands of the reactionary party of the Boers, whose leader was President Kruger. From 1896 to 1899 relations between Great Britain and the Transvaal became more and more strained, until finally, in October, 1899, Kruger issued an ultimatum, which brought on war.

The Boer war lasted from October, 1899, to the summer of 1902. The British were at first repulsed, and in the battles of *Stormberg* (December 10), *Magersfontein* (December 11), and *Colenso* (December 15) were badly defeated. In January, 1900, Lord Roberts and Lord Kitchener took the command, and during that year, notwithstanding the heroic defence of the Boers, occupied both republics and proclaimed their annexation to Great Britain. Public sympathy, though divided, was largely with the Boers, and under De Wet, Botha, and Delarey they fought on, inflicting great losses, until, on May 31, 1902, a treaty of peace was signed and on June 16 the last Boer company laid down its arms. The war redounded to the glory of the Boers, who showed themselves to be brave men and skilful strategists. It showed Lord Kitchener to be not only a fighter, but a shrewd and tactful administrator. By the terms of peace the Boers lost their independence, but received concessions that were designed to transform them into loyal British subjects. The war brought all the South African states under British sovereignty and so prepared the way for their union.

397. South African Union. — Full government was granted to the conquered Boer communities in 1906, but attempts to settle important economic problems showed the necessity of erecting a single state. Finally in 1908–1909 a constitution was drafted and was accepted by the British parliament in September, 1909. By this constitution The Cape, the Transvaal, the Orange River colony, and Natal were merged in a single state with a single parliament possessing supreme power. It was an important event in the history of South Africa, where in 1910 the first Union parliament was opened at Cape Town.

398. The Colonies in General. — The colonies and the other dependencies of Great Britain are treated in full under the government of the British Empire, § 445, page 473.

Queen Victoria Late in Life.

399. Death of Queen Victoria. — On January 22, 1901, Queen Victoria died at the advanced age of eighty-two years. Her death aroused sincere and widespread grief. She had reigned nearly sixty-four years, during which time she had seen greater changes in the conditions of human life than had any other sovereign before her day. Between 1837 and 1901 the material, political, and social life of England, and of Continental Europe, also, had undergone a great transformation. During

these years Victoria had won not only the love and devotion of her subjects and the respect and veneration of the outside world for her nobility of life and character, but also the admiration of statesmen for her sanity of judgment and honorable conduct in politics and diplomacy.

400. The Victorian Era. — The story of Queen Victoria's reign is the story of the greater part of the nineteenth century and of the great changes which were effected in that century

From a photograph.

HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT, LONDON.

in every western state. In all the years since the accession of William III no such progress had been made in every condition of life and government as from 1837 to 1901, the period when Queen Victoria reigned. During those years the British Empire was established, and British interests were extended all over the world. Population in England doubled, and in many of the colonies it increased twenty-five times. Wealth more than trebled, and trade grew to six times its former volume. In 1900 it could be said that "one square mile in every four in the world was under the British flag, and at least one person out of every five persons alive was a subject of the queen."

More noteworthy than the increase in size and numbers were the advances made in the administration of government, the dispensing of justice, and the alteration in the general condition and welfare of the people as a whole. From 1832 to 1901 there was scarcely a phase of the older system that was not either reformed or transformed. The principle of representation, the membership of the House of Commons, the right to vote, the administration of the finances, the navy, the army, and the militia, the organization of the law courts and the exercise of justice, the methods of government both central and local, the policy toward education, health, the poor, the factory system, police, the postal service, and the other features of the nation's life which concern the daily experiences of a people, — all were altered for the better. Many of these improvements we have noted already; a few need to be stated briefly here.

The greatest reform was the taking out of the hands of the privileged and propertied classes, the nobility and the local gentry, the control of administration and justice. Voting became free, representation fairly distributed, great officers were held as often by commoners as by peers, local affairs were controlled by elective officials, law was administered by trained lawyers, positions in the army and navy depended on merit and ability, and education began to pass out of the hands of religious bodies.

In material conditions immense progress was made. Industry and invention were mainly responsible for the improvements in production and transportation. The first railways were opened, and the first steamships built during the preceding reigns, but it was not until the Victorian period that they became important factors in transportation. Before 1837 Edinburgh was more remote from London than New York is today; a trip to Australia or India was a matter of months. Until the introduction of the telegraph and telephone news was slow to arrive, and information could be sent no faster than individuals could travel. Railways, steamships, telegraphs,

cables, and telephones all came into use during Queen Victoria's reign.

The development of steam navigation and the great improvements made in the mechanical uses of steam and electricity led to a great increase in the number and size of merchant vessels and the consequent extension of trade. The rapid growth of the steel industry, the manufacture of armor plate, the invention of quick firing guns and of machine guns, and the

From a photograph.

A Village Street, Lacock.

introduction of scores of ingenious labor-saving devices transformed the building and running of war-ships and made possible the modern navy. With the changes in the construction of merchant ships and men of war went great improvements in matters of navigation, and of the discipline and training of seamen. Life on board ship was transformed, flogging in the navy was abolished, and drinking greatly diminished.

In industry mechanical invention cheapened the cost of pro-

duction and increased a hundred-fold the variety of articles manufactured. Though the factory system had injurious effects upon the employees and led to serious problems in the relations between capital and labor, efforts to ameliorate the condition of the laboring classes were to a large extent successful. Questions of hours of labor, housing of employees, safety appliances, wages, pensions, and the like were met and in part answered, and attempts to provide technical education for the laboring classes were in a measure successful.

From a photograph.

EDWARD VII.

Agriculture, which had made considerable progress in the eighteenth century, improved less than did manufactures in the Victorian period. As rapid transportation brought the farmers of England into competition with other countries, agriculture became less profitable, and people migrated from the rural districts to the cities. Though improvements in farming methods continued to be made, the amount of area under cultivation decreased and efforts to bring new land into use ceased. Dairy farming, on the other hand, showed a steady advance.

During the early part of the nineteenth century the attitude of the government toward industry and agriculture was to let

men alone to run their business as they saw fit and not to interfere. But this policy led to so much abuse and unjust treatment of factory employees, workers in mines, and agricultural laborers, that about the middle of the century the government began in the face of great opposition to extend its control. At first this control took the form of factory legislation regarding hours of labor, the employment of women and children, the condition of the buildings, and the health of the workers. Legislation for mines followed, and gradually one interest after another was taken up. Toward the end of the century efforts were made to increase the number of small farmers by allowing the use of small allotments of untilled land for poor families. This system of allotments, or small holdings for the landless poor, proved very successful. Similar government interest in the welfare of the working classes was seen in laws requiring towns to remedy conditions unfavorable to health, providing for better dwellings for the poor, and establishing in every post office — itself under government control — savings banks for people of small means. By the end of the century the earlier policy was completely reversed, and the government was taking a very active part in controlling and regulating industry and labor.

401. Edward VII. — Queen Victoria was succeeded by her eldest son, the Prince of Wales, who ascended the throne as Edward VII. In his coronation oath, he expressed his full determination to rule "as a constitutional sovereign in the strictest sense of the word"; and "to work," he said, "as long as there is breath in my body, for the good and amelioration of my people." On August 9, 1902, he was crowned King of Great Britain and Ireland, Emperor of India, and Sovereign of the Dominions beyond the Seas. On January 1, 1903, at a *durbar* held in Delhi, he was formally proclaimed Emperor of India. He proved a strong and able ruler, popular with all classes of Englishmen and highly respected throughout the world for his efforts in behalf of peace.

Though King Edward had no aptitude for diplomatic negotiation and no love of political intrigue, his urbanity and social tact, his fondness for entertainment and friendly conversation, and his whole-souled interest in the happiness of others and the general welfare of mankind had an appreciable effect upon England's foreign relations and often paved the way for important diplomatic agreements that in the eyes of many seemed to be parts of a definite foreign policy.

402. Foreign Relations. — The war with the Boers in South Africa had aroused among the people of Europe and America a deep feeling of bitterness and distrust toward England. But the terms of the treaty of peace of 1902, and still more the granting of responsible government to the conquered Boer states in 1906, did much to allay this animosity, and during King Edward's reign the British government entered into agreements with three foreign powers that were to be of the greatest importance.

In January, 1902, an understanding (*entente*) was reached with Japan, according to which either power was to remain neutral in case the other were attacked. This understanding was changed to an offensive and defensive alliance in 1905.

On April 8, 1904, an understanding was reached with France, which brought to an end a long series of quarrels in various parts of the world. By this understanding France was to uphold England's rights in Egypt and England was to support those of France in Morocco, and thus between the two powers a position of alliance and friendship was established, known henceforth as the *entente cordiale*, and destined to be of momentous consequence in the history of Europe.

Three years later, largely because of Germany's intrigues in Turkey and Persia, a similar understanding was reached with Russia, which settled all misunderstandings between the two countries relating to Thibet, Afghanistan, and Persia. If to these agreements be added the continuance of eminently cordial relations with Portugal and Italy, friendly powers of long stand-

ing, it is possible to comprehend how different a position England occupied at the end of King Edward's reign from that which she held at the beginning. Within these nine years she had recovered from the ill-will created by the Boer War and had become a leading power in European affairs.

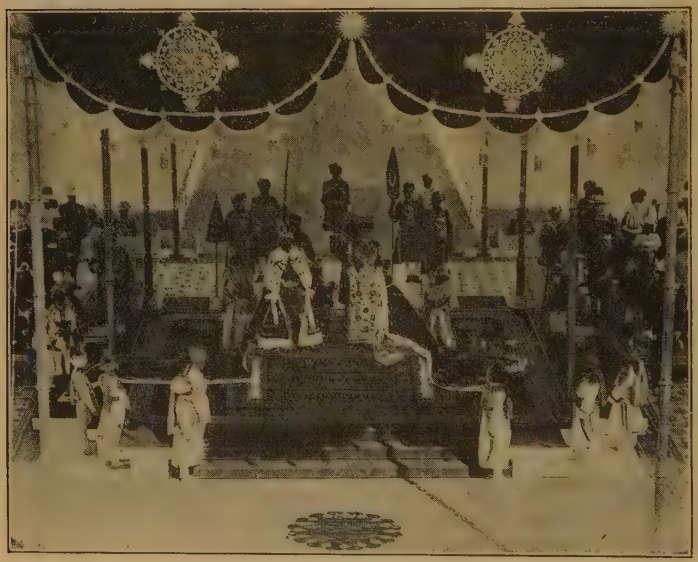
Only with Germany were her relations unfriendly. German statesmen saw in King Edward's visits and in the various alliances and agreements of the period a series of acts inimical to Germany's prestige. They believed that Great Britain was deliberately attempting to detach Italy from the Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria, and Italy, which had been formed in 1882; to build up a coalition of powers, from which Germany was to be excluded; and to draw around Germany a circle of hostile states that would act together in order to block what Germany deemed her legitimate ambitions and to endanger her very existence as a world power.

403. The Coronation of George V. The Durbar. — On May 6, 1910, King Edward died, to the consternation and grief of his people. In his short reign of nine years he had proved himself a wise ruler and a strong constitutional king, who left England stronger than he found it. He was succeeded by his son, the Prince of Wales, who took the title of George V, and with his consort, Princess Mary, was crowned at Westminster Abbey, June 22, 1911. Six months later they sailed for India, where at the great coronation *durbar*[1] held at Delhi, amidst enthusiastic demonstrations of loyalty and scenes of great splendor, they were crowned emperor and empress of India.

This event was noteworthy in British history. For the first time a king of England had set foot on the soil of India and for the first time a British sovereign had presided over his own imperial coronation. In the king-emperor's message to his

[1] Durbar or Darbár, in Hindustani, means a court or royal council, or a solemn assemblage in which the ruler gives public audience. There have been three great Durbars, one in 1877, one in 1903, and one in 1911, the last the only one presided over by the sovereign in person.

Indian people announcement was made of the transfer of the seat of Indian government from Calcutta to the ancient capital, Delhi, a change not only geographical, that is, from the extreme east to the very center of the Indian Empire, but one also that marked the beginning of a new policy of increased self-government and responsibility for the Indian provinces and of greater



KING GEORGE V AND QUEEN MARY AT THE DURBAR, DELHI, INDIA.

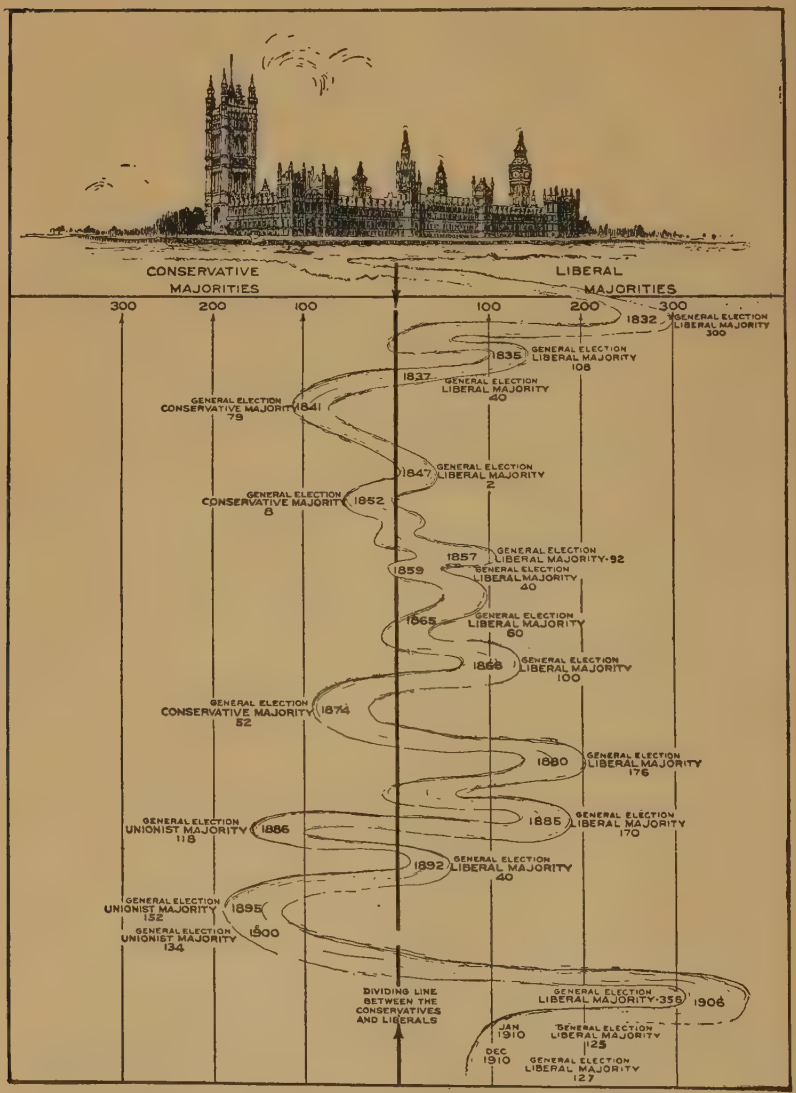
independence for the native feudatory states. Before leaving for India King George invested the heir apparent, at Carnarvon Castle, July 13, 1911, with the title of Prince of Wales, a title that is not held of right or succession but renewed only at the sovereign's pleasure. The investiture was a brilliant spectacular display, following in all details the ancient ceremonial.

404. The Mending of the House of Lords. — Toward the end of King Edward's reign a serious constitutional difficulty arose. Of the two chief parties in parliament, the Liberals, who had

just been returned to power, were composed of about one fifth of the House of Lords, the Liberal members of the House of Commons, and the Labor and Irish members, while the Unionists included four fifths of the House of Lords, the Conservative members of the House of Commons, and those former Liberals, called Liberal Unionists, who opposed Irish home rule. Thus the House of Lords, being hereditary in character, was a permanently conservative body, not subject to change at the will of the electors. When the Liberals were in power, trouble was bound to arise, because the Lords were sure to vote down some of their most important measures, as was the case with the Irish Home Rule Bill in 1893. But when the conservatives were in control, no such trouble was likely to ensue, for the Lords naturally supported the Conservative program in all its parts. Therefore the Liberals declared that the House of Lords was a partisan body which did not respond to the wishes of the electorate and ought to be ended or mended.

During the period of Liberal control after 1906 the issue was revived under more favorable conditions and in 1909 David Lloyd George introduced a budget which increased the tax on incomes and inheritances, revived the old tax on land, and imposed a new tax on increased land values. These taxes fell most heavily on the great landholders and though the measure was passed by the House of Commons it was thrown out by the House of Lords, in order to compel parliament to dissolve and to place the issue squarely before the electors at a general election.

Many conflicting influences clouded the main issues, the budget and the House of Lords, and resulted in an election that was very disappointing to the Liberals. The latter gained but two seats more than the Unionists, 275 to 273, while the Irish Nationalists had 82 members and the Laborites 40. But with the aid of the Irish votes the Liberals again passed the budget and this time the Lords accepted it and it became law. True to their program the Liberal leaders, with



THE STREAM OF PARLIAMENTARY MAJORITIES, 1832–1910.
Adapted from the London *Graphic*.

Asquith as prime minister, took up the issue of the upper house, determined to take away from that body in the future all power to reject a money bill or to reject any bill that the House of Commons persisted in passing.

On May 15, 1911, the new measure introduced by the Liberal government was passed by the House of Commons and immediately sent up to the House of Lords. What would the peers do? Would they accept the bill curtailing their legislative powers or would they reject or amend it? Intense excitement reigned throughout the country. Wide differences of opinion existed as to the wisest policy to pursue, and a small number of Unionist peers, known as the 'Die Hards,' wished to fight to the last ditch for the defeat of the bill.

But saner councils prevailed. Thirty-seven Unionist peers, opposed to the bill, but wishing to prevent the creation of 500 'mushroom' members of the House of Lords, voted with the Liberals and the bill was carried on August 10, by a majority of 17. It received the royal assent eight days later. By this law, officially known as the Parliament Act, the House of Lords was deprived of all power to amend or reject a money bill passed by the House of Commons, and in case it rejected any other bill, the House of Commons, by passing the bill in three successive sessions, could, two years after its first introduction, send it to the king for his assent, without regard to the attitude of the upper house. As the king never refused his assent to a bill passed by parliament, this meant that the House of Commons had become in fact the sole law-making body of the kingdom. Thus was effected the most important change in the parliamentary system of England that had taken place since 1832.

405. A Wave of Reform Measures. — The Liberal party, dependent as it was for its majority in parliament upon the votes of the Irish and Labor members, was bound to place the latter's demands at the very forefront of its legislative program. These demands included Irish home rule, a more direct

representation of labor in the House of Commons, and laws promoting the general welfare of the laboring masses. Along with these went a widespread agitation for an extension of the suffrage, the granting to women of the right to vote for members of parliament, the abolition of plural voting, and such a redistribution of seats as would meet the shifting of population which had been going on since 1885, when the last distribution of seats had taken place. According to total population England should have had 47 more members, Wales one more, Scotland 4 less, and Ireland 44 less. This was an unfair situation and should be remedied.

HERBERT HENRY ASQUITH.

With Asquith, prime minister, Lloyd George, chancellor of the exchequer, Sir Edward Grey, foreign secretary, and R. McKenna, home secretary, the Liberal ministry went ahead with its program, certain at last that the House of Lords could not interfere to block its plans. On the very day of the passage of the Parliament Act by the House of Lords a resolution was adopted by the House of Commons, authorizing the payment of £400 ($2000) a year to each member of the house, thus enabling men of moderate means or of no means at all to stand for election, knowing that if elected they would receive payment for their services. Hitherto the expenses of labor members had been met by the labor organizations. This was but preliminary to a greater measure to come.

In 1912 a Franchise Electoral Reform Bill was introduced, granting the vote to every adult male who had resided in his district for six months.

No sooner were the terms known to the world outside parliament and it was seen that woman's suffrage was left out of the bill than an agitation was begun by the militant suffragettes of the most violent character. Property was attacked and destroyed, buildings were set on fire, and the ministry was harassed in every way known to woman's fertile mind. Though parliament had been favorable to the principle of woman's voting, the cabinet had been divided, and Asquith had regularly refused to bring in a special bill for the purpose, but now he agreed to accept an amendment to the Reform Bill. When, however, the speaker of the House ruled that such an amendment so altered the character of the bill as to require that it be introduced over again the government abandoned the measure. For a time the militant suffragettes continued their attacks, but with the outbreak of the war in 1914, they temporarily buried the hatchet, and loyally labored in behalf of their country.

In the meantime the government had adopted a system of pensions payable to every man and woman over the age of seventy possessing a yearly income of less than $150 a year. The number thus benefited soon exceeded a million persons at a cost to the country of more than $50,000,000. On September 14, 1914, after long discussion, it finally passed the bill for the disestablishment of the English Church in Wales.

More important still, on the same day a new Irish Home Rule Bill, after having been twice rejected by the House of Lords, was passed for the third time by the House of Commons and with the king's assent became a law. This act provided for a single Irish parliament, though leaving the six counties of Ulster outside for six years, at the end of which time they were to become subordinate to the parliament. But, owing to the war, its operation was suspended and eventually it was replaced by a new Home Rule Bill in 1920.

406. The Situation in Ireland. The Easter Rebellion. — After a century of agitation and two attempts by the Liberal party to meet the wishes of the Irish Nationalists, a grant of home rule had been definitely conceded to Ireland. The new measure gave to that country not responsible government but self-government within the Empire, somewhat similar to the self-government already possessed by twenty-eight other parts of the British world, and it satisfied the Irish National party, of which John Redmond was the leader. "I say to the government," said Redmond, in a grateful expression of thanks for the Home Rule Bill, "that they may to-morrow withdraw every one of their troops from Ireland. I say that the coast of Ireland will be defended from foreign invasion by her armed sons, and for this purpose armed Nationalist Catholics in the south will be only too glad to join arms with the armed Protestant Ulstermen in the north." [1]

JOHN EDWARD REDMOND.

[1] Redmond's words found fulfilment when on Flanders field united Irish divisions — the sixteenth (Irish) and the thirty-sixth (Ulster) — marched side by side to victory at Wytschaete ridge, June 7–10, 1917. By an irony of tragedy, Redmond's younger brother, Major William Redmond, met his death in this battle at the head of his troops. Redmond himself, embittered and broken-hearted because of the failure of the cause for which he had labored so long, died the following March at the age of 67. Altogether nearly 50,000 Irishmen born were killed in the war.

But Redmond had reckoned without adequate appreciation of two powerful forces in Ireland itself that were destined to wreck the cause of home rule, — a cause for which he had labored so long. The first was the Protestant population of Ulster county in the north, which outnumbered the Roman Catholics of Ulster by a third and largely controlled the industries and manufactures of the province, and the other the radical Irish element, hardly known outside of Ireland before the war began, divided into parties, which though differing among themselves had one common aim — complete separation from the Empire. Of these radical groups, the Sinn Feiners[1] were the most conspicuous, and in popular comment their name was given to the whole radical or independent movement.

Thus there were in Ireland three irreconcilable points of view: that of the Irish Nationalists who supported home rule; that of the Ulsterites who, convinced that under home rule their religion would be destroyed and their industries ruined, wished to remain as they were; and that of the Sinn Feiners and other extremists who wanted an independent Irish republic. For the moment the Irish Nationalists, with more than eighty members in the House of Commons, had won in the passage of the Home Rule Bill, but hardly had the bill been introduced in 1912 when Ulster, led by Sir Edward Carson, began a revolt which lasted until the outbreak of the war.

For a year the Irish question was completely overshadowed and almost forgotten. Nationalists and Ulsterites offered themselves for war service, though in relatively small numbers, and Ireland appeared to be peaceful. But a new power was already at work, which had as its motto the freedom of Ireland. The movement culminated in two bloody events. On April 21, 1916, Sir Roger Casement was caught landing on the coast of Ireland from a disguised German cruiser and in August

[1] *Pronounced Shin Feners.* Sinn Fein means "Ourselves," that is to say, "Ireland for the Irish."

was hanged for treason; and at the same time (April 24–May 3, 1916) a radical revolt was begun in Dublin and soon assumed the form of an armed insurrection. The post office and other buildings were seized and an Irish Republic proclaimed. But after hard fighting and the proclamation of martial law, the rebellion was suppressed, and fifteen of the leaders executed, among them the president of the 'Republic,' Padraic Pearse.

407. The Reform Act of 1918. — Though the outbreak of the war seemed for the moment to postpone indefinitely all prospect of electoral reform, the result as it turned out was exactly the opposite. The magnificent response which the men of Great Britain made to the call for volunteers, the life in the training camps and the trenches in France, and the democratic spirit aroused by the vast number of men in the service ended all controversy upon the subject and met all objections to the extension of the suffrage to every adult male in the British Isles.

More remarkable still was the change effected by the war in the position of women. Their noble response to every demand made upon them, their work in the munition factories, the hospitals, and the field, their exhibition of willingness to bear every burden, no matter how heavy or disagreeable, and their ability to perform tasks commonly deemed within the power of men only led to a great revulsion of feeling in their favor.

As compared with the agitation which had accompanied the passage of previous reform bills, that of 1918 aroused no excitement whatever. Its chief terms were decided upon in a committee or conference of both houses, whose report was accepted by parliament with but few changes, and embodied in a bill known as the Representation of the People Bill.

This bill became law in April, 1918. Its provisions were as simple as those of previous reform acts were complicated. Any male of the age of 21 and any female of the age of 30 (a woman had to be a tenant or owner, a local elector or the wife of a

local elector), who had resided for six months in any single place, could vote. Thus, except for the age limit and the exclusion of women who were merely lodgers, no difference was made between the franchise of a man and that of a woman. The total number of voters was increased from about 8,000,000 to more than 21,000,000, of whom 8,479,156 were women. Thus for the first time in her history Great Britain was converted into a genuine democracy.

In the matter of the redistribution of seats which, as we have seen, had become grossly unfair, far-reaching changes were made. To establish equality of representation one seat was allowed for every 70,000 of the population in Great Britain and every 43,000 in Ireland. The membership of the House of Commons was increased from 670 to 707, and of the 37 seats thus added England received 31, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland two each. But as after 1922 that part of Ireland known as the Irish Free State ceased to be represented in the British Parliament, the membership was reduced to 615. Though " proportional representation," that is, the representation of the minority, was defeated, we can say that under the new law the House of Commons was destined to become for the first time a democratic and representative body.

408. Elections of 1918. — The Liberal ministry under Asquith continued in office until November, 1916, when the exigencies of war demanded the suspension of party government and the establishment of a coalition ministry, composed of Liberals and Unionists with one Labor member. This ministry remained in control until November, 1917, when owing to the hostile criticism of Lord Northcliffe, proprietor of the London *Times*, and other leaders of public opinion, a further reorganization of a drastic character took place.

Asquith gave way to Lloyd George as prime minister, and instead of a large cabinet of 23 members there was instituted a small War Cabinet or " steering committee " of five members — Lloyd George (Liberal), Curzon (Unionist leader of the House

of Lords), Bonar Law (Unionist leader of the House of Commons), Milner (Unionist), Henderson (Labor, replaced later by Barnes), with General Smuts, the South African leader, invited to attend. In addition to the cabinet was the ministry, to which nine new members were added, concerned with labor, shipping, munitions, air, national service and recruiting, blockade, pensions, reconstruction, and food, each of whom was freed from all matters of public policy and limited in his duties strictly to the business of administration. Under this reorganized government the war was carried to a successful conclusion.

DAVID LLOYD GEORGE.

After the war was over, demands for a general election became insistent, chiefly on the ground that by the addition to the electorate of so many millions of new electors, men and women, the House of Commons had ceased to be a representative body. Considerable criticism was made of the Coalition government, particularly of its failure to deal boldly with the tariff question and to put into operation the Home Rule Act, which had only been suspended until the war was over. So general was this demand for a new expression of public opinion that the government yielded, parliament was dissolved, and new elections were held on December 14, 1918.

The results of these elections, though not unexpected, were

remarkable for the completeness of the Coalition victory. The Coalition Unionists secured 328 seats and the Coalition Liberals 133, which with the election of 11 other members favorable to the Coalition made a total Coalition vote of 472. The non-Coalition forces secured but 235, — Labor 65, Unionist 24, Asquith Liberals 35, Irish Unionists 25, Irish Sinn Feiners 73, and scattering 17. As the Sinn Feiners refused to take their seats, the non-Coalitionists could command but 182 votes.

Next to the large Coalition majority, the outstanding features of the election were the number of Labor members elected and their definite refusal to support the government, the disruption and temporary disappearance of the Liberals as a party, and the success of the Sinn Feiners, who in winning so large a number of seats from the Irish Nationalists not only showed the effect of the Easter executions upon the Irish people but also the repudiation of home rule by the Irish electors. In the Sinn Fein group was a woman, Countess Markievicz, but as she with her fellow Sinn Feiners refused to attend, the honor of being the first woman member of the House of Commons fell to the Viscountess Astor, an American by birth, who the next year, at a by-election, was returned from Plymouth.

409. Governmental Changes. A Labor Ministry. — The first parliament under the Reform Act of 1918 met on February 4, 1919, and in the October following, the War Cabinet was retired, thus marking a return to former parliamentary methods. The situation had many peculiar aspects. The government, though largely Conservative, was led by a prime minister, Lloyd George, who was radical and imperial, and was supported by 133 Liberal members of similar views. The opposition, always in the past provided by the party possessing the next largest numbers, should have been led by the Sinn Feiners, but as they remained away, because they wished to have nothing to do with the British government, it was controlled by the Labor members, who many feared would not be able to meet the demands of the situation and present a large and statesmanlike policy.

Between the Coalitionists and the non-Coalitionists existed few real differences in principle, and as time went on "Coalition" as a working system seemed less and less necessary and a strong desire was felt for a return to government by parties. By 1922, despite serious difficulties in the way of overpopulation, trade depression, unemployment, heavy taxation, and inadequate housing conditions, the state of the country was becoming more normal. Labor troubles seemed less acute, prices were beginning to fall, and promises of lower taxation were made. Consequently the Conservatives decided in October, 1922, to withdraw from the Coalition. Lloyd George immediately dissolved parliament. In the elections that followed the Conservatives secured 344 members, Labor 138, the Liberals 60, and the National Liberals 57. Lloyd George resigned and was succeeded by Bonar Law as prime minister, with Labor in the opposition, and the Liberals hopelessly divided. On May 20, 1923, Bonar Law resigned on account of ill health (he died in October) and was succeeded by Stanley Baldwin. The latter, feeling that he had not the confidence of the electors, took the risk of another election, in which he was defeated. He therefore resigned in January, 1924, and the king summoned to the premiership the leader of the Laborites, Ramsay MacDonald. For the first time in English history Labor entered into control of the government. Though retaining office only with the support of the Liberals, the MacDonald ministry began well and seemed to hold the confidence of the country, but it was overthrown after a tenure of only nine months. In new elections, held October, 1924, the Conservatives, by a large majority, were returned to office, with Baldwin again as prime minister.

410. The Irish Situation, 1920–1924. — Since the suspension of the Home Rule Act of 1914, the Irish problem had grown increasingly complex. From 1916 to 1918 the movement for independence gained enormously in strength, and in the elections of December, 1918, the Nationalist party was swept aside and the advocates of an independent Ireland came into almost

complete control. By a vote of seventy per cent of Ireland's elected representatives a republic was established, with Eamon de Valéra as its president, and was accepted by a great majority of the locally elected bodies.

Though the British government declared that it would never allow the claim for an independent Ireland, the Sinn Feiners went ahead with their republican organization, and established both a ministry and a parliament (*Dail Eireann*). At the same time, unhappily, certain elements entered upon a species of guerilla warfare against representatives of British authority, while Great Britain on her side sent troops into Ireland and placed the country under military rule. In 1920 parliament authorized coercion by passing, on August 9, the Restoration of Order in Ireland Act, the most important part of which was the substitution for the civil courts of courts martial conducted according to the procedure of the common law. In the same year the government brought forward a new Home Rule Bill, which was in many ways an improvement upon that of 1914, and differed from it in providing, out of deference to Ulster, two parliaments, a northern and a southern, instead of the single parliament for all Ireland which had been instituted before.

But many, both in England and Ireland, who did not like the new Home Rule plan and yet believed a self-governing Ireland desirable, advocated a compromise on the basis of Dominion Home Rule, according to which Ireland would be given the position of a self-governing dominion, similar to that of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and Newfoundland. But for the time being, Lloyd George, as well as De Valéra and the Sinn Feiners, would have none of it. Ulster too rejected the compromise plan, unless provision were made for separate governments and separate parliaments. So intense was the hostility between the Sinn Feiners and the Unionist Ulstermen that in 1920 and 1921, in Londonderry and Belfast, where religious hostility was added to the political bitterness, bloody riots took place, which attained almost the proportions of a civil war.

The Irish situation had now reached a point where matters could not be worse and ought to be better. The movement looking to a compromise began in 1921 and developed rapidly. On July 11 a cessation of fighting was agreed to and plans were laid for a conference of the Irish leaders with the British ministry. Attempts to come to an understanding with de Valéra himself failed. Finally, in December, the Sinn Feiners accepted an invitation to send representatives to a peace conference in London, and as a result an agreement was reached. According to this, Ireland (outside the six counties of Ulster) was to become the Irish Free State, with full dominion status. On October 11 the Dail Eireann drew up a constitution; on December 4 this constitution was made law by acts of parliament; and two days later the king proclaimed the new state. Thus on December 6, 1922, the Irish Free State took its place as a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations. A long year's war followed with the irreconcilables (led by de Valéra), who were determined to secure entire independence, and was accompanied with great loss of life and destruction of property. But the new state emerged from the civil conflict victorious, and it used its success with great moderation.

411. Ulster.—Northern Ireland or Ulster separated from the south and formed its own government in close union with Great Britain. It remains to-day within the British customs area and sends thirteen representatives to sit in the British parliament. Though differences have arisen between the two new states, these are being removed gradually, the difficulty of the boundaries being settled in 1925, and relations steadily are becoming more and more friendly. The Free State increased in strength and unity, its financial condition improved, and industrial peace was attained. Its position as an independent commonwealth was marked by its admission to the League of Nations in 1923, and by its sending in 1924, with the full consent of the British government, a minister plenipotentiary of its own to the United States, to represent it in all matters of domestic concern.

CHAPTER XVII

THE EMPIRE AND THE GREAT WAR

412. The British Empire. — Our attention has thus far been concentrated upon the British Isles and the growth of democracy and representative government within the mother country itself. But a Greater Britain was in existence, scattered in different parts of the world, and made up of a great variety of colonies and dominions. These may be divided into groups as follows.

First, possessions without self-government of any kind, such as Gibraltar, St. Helena, and islands in the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. Second, crown colonies, such as Ceylon, the Leeward Islands, etc., possessing local government but not self-government, and administered by the colonial office in London. Third, crown colonies, such as the Bahamas, Barbadoes, and Bermuda, possessing representative self-government but, since their governors and councils were appointed from London, not possessing responsible government, that is, complete control over their domestic affairs. Fourth, a protectorate, Egypt, so declared December 18, 1914 (thus bringing to an end the suzerainty of Turkey), itself almost an empire, with the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan behind it (p. 478). Fifth, a dependency, India, an empire of more than 700 native states, provinces, and districts, none of them possessing parliamentary institutions or responsible government, varying in size from great kingdoms to petty areas, in age from ancient dynasties to modern states, and in degrees of subordination to British rule from the native allied feudatories, self-administered, to the tracts directly under the control of British officials. Sixth, the great self-governing

dominions, Canada, Newfoundland, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa, under responsible governments, which had evolved from crown colonies into modern constitutional states, in nearly all respects independent of outside control.

413. The British Empire on the Eve of War. — In 1914 the territory of the British Empire covered more than a fifth of the land surface of the globe and its inhabitants numbered one fourth of the world's population. But its territories were scattered in all hemispheres and a majority of the subjects of the British king and emperor were of other than the Caucasian race. There was deep unrest among the natives of India and Egypt, and even as far as the self-governing dominions were concerned, where national and local interests were often antagonistic to those of the mother country, there was no certainty that under the strain of disaster or war the British overseas people would rally to the mother's defense.

No imperial system bound together the far-flung line of this great disjointed organization and no legal obligation held the inhabitants of colonies or dominions to the military service of the crown. Though the British navy was the first in the world, it was in largest part a British not an imperial navy. Inasmuch as the military forces of the dominions were used for local police and revenue-collecting purposes only, there was no imperial army, the only instrument for the military service of the empire as a whole being the expeditionary force that was maintained at home for service abroad whenever needed.

Within the United Kingdom itself conditions in the year 1914 were not indicative either of strength or unity. Ulster had been in revolt for two years on account of the threatened passage of the Home Rule Bill, and civil war seemed imminent. There were signs of insubordination in the army; labor was discontented and restless and strikes were rampant; finances were in disorder and controversies over industrial and economic reforms were disorganizing political and social life; the militant suffragettes were redoubling their energies and increasing their

attacks on property and the government. Dissension, not harmony, seemed the order of the day.

It is not surprising that to the outside observer the United Kingdom should have seemed honeycombed with disloyalty and the empire ready for disruption. At this juncture, when Great Britain, to all outward appearance at least, was little prepared to face a great crisis and to meet any extraordinary strain upon her resources, she was called upon to face the most terrible war in her history.

414. The Causes of the Great War. — The beginnings of trouble in Europe may be traced to the year 1878, when at the treaty of Berlin Austria was given permission to occupy and administer the provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which belonged to Turkey. Thirty years later, Austria annexed these provinces, in the face of the protests of Russia, France, and England, thus making clear her determination to extend her territory toward the southeast in the direction of the Ægean Sea. This attempt of Austria to obtain a hold upon Balkan territory was followed in 1911 by Italy's attack upon Turkey and the conquest of Tripoli, which was ceded to Italy by Turkey in October, 1912.

These successful attempts of two of the leading powers of Europe to enlarge their possessions at Turkey's expense stirred up the Balkan states — Serbia, Bulgaria, Montenegro, and Greece — to renew once more their designs against Turkey, and beginning with October, 1912, they entered upon what are known as the Balkan Wars, the first of which lasted until the treaty of London, May 30, 1913. In this war the four Balkan states formed an alliance to drive Turkey out of Europe and to divide her territory among themselves. In this they were partly successful and at the treaty of London Turkey surrendered all her European lands except Constantinople and its environs.

But in the division of the spoils, partly because of jealousy and partly because of the interference of Austria and Italy, who refused to allow Serbia and Montenegro to extend their

territory to the Adriatic, trouble arose, and in June Bulgaria, counting on Austria's support, opened the second Balkan war in an attack upon Serbia. But she suffered defeat because Greece and Rumania joined Serbia and the Turks attacked her from the rear. By the treaty of Bucharest, August 10, 1913, Bulgaria's territory was cut down to the advantage of Serbia, Greece, and Rumania, and even Turkey, because of the insistence of Germany, recovered Adrianople.

In the years 1913–1914 relations between Austria and Serbia were strained almost to the breaking point. Serbia, supported by Russia, had succeeded, by means of the large accessions of territory which she had gained, in blocking Austria's Balkan ambitions. Austria had enormous pride and it was intolerable to her statesmen that she, and her protégé Bulgaria, should suffer defeat at the hands of her despised neighbor. When, therefore, on June 28, 1914, the Archduke Francis Ferdinand, heir apparent to the Hapsburg thrones, was assassinated, together with his wife, at Serajevo, the chief city of Bosnia, the tension reached the breaking point. Austria declared, and with truth, that the assassins, who were Serbian students hating the Hapsburg régime, had received encouragement and assistance from Serbian officials, and she insisted that if this sort of thing were allowed to go on, the very existence of Austria-Hungary would be imperiled.

But as Serbia was backed by Russia, Austria would hardly have dared to punish her without definite assurances of aid from Germany. When the matter was brought to the attention of the Kaiser, by special messenger on July 5, 1914, he discussed it with his chancellor, Bethmann-Hollweg, and assured Austria that whatever her decision might be regarding Serbia, Germany would stand behind her as an ally and friend.[1] In

[1] There was no "imperial conference" or "crown council" held at Potsdam on July 5, as narrated in *Ambassador Morgenthau's Story*, pp. 84–85. According to that story the Kaiser summoned his ambassadors, military and naval leaders, bankers, railroad directors, and prominent business men of Germany, and asked each in turn if he was ready for war. Each replied

consequence of this promise, Austria sent an ultimatum to Serbia, July 23, couched in almost insulting terms. When Serbia in reply demurred to some of the demands as impairing her position as an independent and sovereign state, Austria threw off the mask and on July 28 declared war on Serbia.

415. Declarations of War. The Neutrality of Belgium. — Events moved quickly in that summer of 1914 and the world stood aghast as one happening followed another. On July 28 Austria declared war on Serbia; on July 29 Russia began to gather together, that is, to mobilize, her army; from the 29th to the 31st frantic efforts were made, chiefly by England, to effect a settlement, but without success; on the 31st Germany issued two ultimatums, one to Russia, demanding that she cease her warlike preparations within twelve hours, and one to France, asking whether or not in case of war she would remain neutral. On receiving Russia's refusal, Germany immediately declared war against her, August 1, and when France declined to commit herself declared war against her also, August 3. Thus four of the great European powers were already committed to a terrible conflict. Would the area of battle be enlarged? Italy at once announced her refusal to follow her partners in the Triple Alliance and remained neutral. What would Great Britain do?

Great Britain was under no bond to enter the war on either side and Germany had hoped that she would declare for neutrality. In fact the German chancellor, Bethmann-Hollweg, had already approached Sir W. E. Goschen, the British ambassador at Berlin, with the question, promising to respect the territory of France but not that of her colonies, if Great Britain would stand aloof. Sir Edward Grey indignantly rejected

"Yes," except the bankers, who wanted a little more time. This story has been denied by Germans in a position to know and rests on no documentary foundation. It must be rejected as untrue. The Kaiser's decision to support Austria in energetic action against Serbia was all that Count Berchtold needed in order to carry out his policy. See the articles by Professor Fay in the *American Historical Review* for July and October, 1920.

the offer. In the end Germany herself was responsible for the final decision. Twenty-four hours before war was declared against France, Germany set in motion her troops toward the western frontier, not toward that portion bordering on France between Luxemburg and Switzerland, but toward the frontier of Luxemburg and Belgium, states whose neutrality had been guaranteed by treaties to which both Prussia and England were parties. On August 2 the troops occupied Luxemburg, and on August 3, after Belgium had absolutely refused to grant the German troops permission to pass through the state, they violated Belgium's neutrality by crossing the border. On August 4 Great Britain took her place beside France and Russia and entered the war against Germany.

The decision was a momentous one, not only for Great Britain but even more for Germany, who, though the greatest military power in the world, had now arrayed against her two great military nations and an empire whose navy ranked first among the navies of the earth. No wonder German diplomats were disappointed and angry, and berated Great Britain, as the German chancellor, Bethmann-Hollweg, bitterly declared, for making war on a kindred nation just for a scrap of paper — the treaty of neutrality.

For the sake of getting into France by the quickest route, Germany gave to Great Britain the strongest possible pretext for intervening in the great conflict, and in so doing threw down the gage of battle to the mistress of the seas. This was the first of Germany's many diplomatic blunders, based on a serious miscalculation of British strength and character; for in the end Great Britain proved to be the mightiest of all the obstacles that lay in the path of Teutonic victory.

416. The Conquest of Belgium. First Battle of the Marne. — Having made up her mind to invade Belgium, Germany began the attack by way of the northern of two lines, one of which ran from Cologne, through Aix, Liège, Namur, and Maubeuge, the other, the southern, from Coblentz, through Luxemburg

to Verdun. The heroic resistance of the Belgian people, led by their high-minded and courageous king, Albert, so disarranged Germany's plans that eighteen days were required instead of six in which to cross the neutral state. This delay enabled the British to send across the Channel into France a small expeditionary force of 150,000 men under Gen. Sir John French (the "contemptible little army," as the Kaiser called it), and, in combination with the French under the general command of Gen. Joffre, still further to stay German progress.

But, compelled to retreat, the Franco-British forces fell back, the French from the Ardennes, the British from Mons (August 20–24), fighting fiercely as they went. Taking their stand finally on a line curving deeply from Verdun toward Paris (only eighteen miles away) and beyond in a northerly direction, they began a counter-attack in the first battle of the Marne (September 6–12), one of the decisive battles of history. In a series of engagements, the most brilliant of which was the attack by Gen. Ferdinand Foch at the center along the Marne, the Germans were compelled to retreat.

Thus the carefully laid plans of the German General Staff were thrown into confusion, their hope of capturing Paris at one stroke was destroyed, and belief in the invincibility of the German armies received a staggering blow. The despised Belgians and the "contemptible" British shared with the numerically larger French army in the glory of this almost miraculous success.

Foiled in their effort to capture Paris, the Germans fell back on prepared positions to the center and south; but in the north they continued their offensive by capturing Antwerp (October 8) and attempting to obtain possession of the Channel ports. They seized Zeebrugge and Ostend, but got no further, for in the frightfully bloody battle of Flanders (October-November), along a line from the coast to Ypres and Arras, Belgians, British, Canadians, and French held back three German armies and completely frustrated their attempts to break through. After

November, battles in the open ceased, and both sides settled down for the winter in parallel lines of trenches, stretching from the coast to Switzerland for nearly six hundred miles, of which the Belgians held 18, the British and Colonials 31, and the French 543.

Thus Germany not only failed in her immediate object, but, by her barbarous methods of conducting war and her atrocious treatment of Belgian towns and inhabitants, she spread such a feeling of horror among civilized peoples and so shocked the moral sense of the Western World as to make her enemies determined to defeat her at all costs.

KITCHENER OF KHARTUM.

417. Great Britain's Effort, 1914–1915.—Great Britain was not a military nation, but she had already accomplished wonders with her little army and had exhibited a courage and tenacity of purpose that was beyond praise. But the fighting in Flanders and notably the loss of Antwerp, which the British government tried to prevent by means of a badly planned expedition, showed such inadequate preparation that government and people began slowly to realize the magnitude of the task before them. Lord Kitchener, England's greatest soldier,[1] had already been

[1] Kitchener was drowned off northern Scotland, June 6, 1916, when the *Hampshire*, on which he had embarked for Russia, was sunk. He was succeeded as war minister by Lloyd George.

appointed secretary of war and immediately set about raising an army. Volunteers from every walk of life responded heroically to the call to arms. Preparations were begun to make up deficiencies in guns, ammunition, and supplies of all kinds, and with feverish determination men and women turned from their daily tasks to the business of meeting in every way the needs of the soldiers at the front.

From the colonies — Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and even India and the Malay States — came heartening promises of help and coöperation; and troops began to gather at various points in response to the call of the mother country. By the spring of 1915 there were nearly 800,000 volunteers, English, Scottish, Irish, and Welsh, available from the United Kingdom itself, and 200,000 more from the colonies and India, either at the front in France, in training camps, or on their way overseas. The response of the colonies was a magnificent exhibition of loyalty. In the end not a single member, large or small, of the widely scattered British world failed to make some contribution, either in men, supplies, money, or all three together, to the common cause.

418. British Naval Supremacy. — More important even than this impressive demonstration of the unity of the British Empire was Great Britain's share in maintaining the mastery of the seas. In conjunction with the navies of France and Russia, her fleet was able to restrict the area of fighting to the soil of Europe, Asia, and Africa. It not only swept all merchant vessels from the ocean and drew around the Central Powers a blockade that barred food, raw materials, and military supplies from reaching their armies and civilian population, but it effectively bottled up the German fleet in German waters and rendered useless the great naval strength which for fifteen years Germany had done so much to develop.

Furthermore, it kept the seas open for the transportation of men and supplies from all parts of the British world and guarded with sleepless vigilance the passageway of the Channel, across

which to France passed a continuous stream of men, equipment, ammunition, food for the armies, and doctors, nurses, and supplies for medical and hospital service. It enabled France to bring colonial troops from northern Africa, and later aided the United States to transport her troops across the Atlantic. One only has to consider what the situation would have been had Germany controlled the seas to realize that Great Britain's naval supremacy was the greatest single factor in the winning of the war.

419. The Dardanelles Expedition. — Early in November, 1914, Russia, Great Britain, and France declared war upon the Ottoman Empire, which had openly protected war vessels of the Central Powers. Three months later, the British and French governments resolved to take the offensive, by forcing their way through the Dardanelles and capturing Constantinople. This famous exploit, which ended in terrible failure, lasted from February to December, 1915, and was one of the outstanding features of the war, partly because of the heroism displayed by the Allied troops (French, British, Australians and New Zealanders, or "Anzacs," as they came to be called,[1] with troops from Senegal and India) and partly because of the terrible losses incurred. The failure was due in the beginning to bad management and poorly laid plans, and in the end to lack of reserves and sufficient shell supplies. At the opening of the attack British and French battleships bombarded for more than a month the Turkish forts at the entrance of the straits, but without other result than the loss of three of their first-class vessels.

Meanwhile their troops, to the number eventually of 300,000 men, were landed on the western shore of the Gallipoli peninsula and gained at tremendous cost a precarious foothold, to which they clung for nine months. Though frequently victorious in single attacks, they were unable to drive the Turks from their intrenched strongholds on the heights, and at the close of the

[1] From the initials of the Australia and New Zealand Auxiliary Corps.

year they gave up the attempt. Though the undertaking as a whole reflected but little credit upon those who promoted it, it shed infinite glory upon the British and French navies and upon the men who for nine long months faced death from cold and heat, thirst and pest, and continuous Turkish shell-fire.

420. Close of 1915. Loss of Allied Prestige. — The year which had opened so auspiciously for the Allies closed in discouragement. The Dardanelles campaign was a dismal failure; Russia, who, before May 1, had raised Allied hopes by her splendid advances toward Hungary and in Poland, was forced to give way before the Germans under the able leadership of Gens. Mackensen and Hindenburg, and withdrew from Poland and Galicia (in August and September). In September Bulgaria, encouraged by the Russian losses, joined the Central Powers, and the Allied troops, gathered at Salonica on the Ægean, were unable to advance because of the attitude of Constantine, the pro-German king of Greece and the Kaiser's brother-in-law. Germany was beginning to recover from the disasters of 1914 and to extend her control over the territories southeast and east. Also, she was preparing to build up a great state of "Middle Europe," which was to be completely under her own domination, and to receive large sections of the Balkans and of Russia.

On the Western front, the Allies made little progress with trench warfare, because the German troops were too strongly established in trenches, redoubts, and other fortifications, which were often underground and were constructed in a most substantial manner of timber and concrete. They had unlimited numbers of guns and supplies of ammunition. Against these continuous lines of trench fortresses, the Allies hurled themselves in vain. Among the most severe of these battles were those of Neuve Chapelle (March 10, 1915), which cost the British 13,000 men; and Ypres (April–May, 1915), begun by the Germans and famous as the first battle in which asphyxiating

gas was used, but ending without success on either side. The Germans considered these onslaughts failures for the Allies, and the Allies themselves realized their own inferiority to the Germans in munitions, guns, airplanes, and other weapons of war.

To meet this state of unpreparedness, the British people redoubled their efforts and Great Britain became a land of munition factories, turning out in ever-increasing numbers guns, shells, grenades, armored cars, and gas masks, which were hurried over to France in the shortest possible time. Because of a general dissatisfaction with the conduct of the war and a demand for a more aggressive policy Gen. French was replaced (as chief commander of the British armies in France) by Gen. Sir Douglas Haig (December, 1915). To meet a falling off in recruiting, due largely to discontent with the government policy, a limited conscription bill was passed by parliament in January, 1916.

General Sir Douglas Haig.
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421. Verdun, February–August, 1916. — Germany's hopes were high at the opening of 1916. Russia was helpless, the Allies were apparently inferior on the Western front, and the great state of "Middle Europe" was, outwardly at least, a reality. To anticipate an Anglo-French drive, which they knew was bound to come at the earliest possible moment, the German military leaders determined to begin a great drive of

their own, and that too in a quarter where success would be most likely to discourage the French and possibly put them out of the war. Their objective was the great fortress of Verdun, one of the four which France had erected to protect her Eastern front from German invasion.

The attack was made on February 21, 1916, by the German army under the command of the Crown Prince Frederick William and was accompanied by a bombardment of overwhelming fury. The advancing Germans, taking the French by surprise, were at first successful in dislodging the enemy and driving them from one stronghold after another, back toward the fortress. But the arrival of Gen. Pétain with reënforcements brought the onslaught to a halt and finally forced the Germans to retire. The first phase of the battle lasted until February 29, when the German staff became aware that only at a fearful cost could victory be won. However, they could not withdraw at this juncture, for withdrawal would be more disgraceful than defeat, and it became necessary for them to take Verdun no matter what the cost should prove to be. From March 6 until April 15 they continued their assaults with criminal disregard of the lives sacrificed; but the French had said to themselves, "They shall not pass," and pass the Germans never did, though they continued to fight with all the fury of a maddened and baffled foe. Charge followed charge, the artillery continued its withering fire of high explosives; and mines, gas, liquid fire — every contrivance known to an ingenious and desperate foe — were used with deadly effect. But the French met fire with fire, their lines held, and before summer had gone all realized that the German sacrifices had been made in vain. The failure at Verdun was the second great German defeat of the war. The fortress itself was never taken.

422. The Battle of Jutland, May 31, 1916. — Germany's outlook in May was far less encouraging than it had been in January, for the carefully planned attempt to strike a blow at the heart of France had failed disastrously. Italy had declared

war in May, 1915, during the Dardanelles campaign, and an advance upon her by Austrian troops, begun while the Verdun enterprise was under way (May–June), brought no encouragement, for the Italian lines held against every attempt to break them. The Russians were showing signs of recovery. The use of the submarine, which for a year or more had been effective against the merchant marine and had found its greatest victim in the unarmed Cunard steamer *Lusitania*, May 7, 1915, was stirring the neutral states to wrath, and in March Portugal declared war on Germany. The United States, outraged by the loss of American lives on the *Lusitania*, and further agitated by the sinking of the *Sussex* in the English Channel on March 24, 1916, was demanding a cessation of such ruthless methods of warfare.

Up to this time the British Grand Fleet and the German High Seas Fleet, one under Admiral Jellicoe and the other under Admiral Scheer, had acted largely on the defensive. But on May 30, 1916, hearing of German preparations, Jellicoe and the Grand Fleet and Beatty with the battle cruisers started for a rendezvous in the North Sea. On the same day Scheer sent Hipper with the German scouting force northward toward the Skagerrak, while he followed secretly with the battleships. The subsidiary fleets met unexpectedly, and the battle opened about 2.30 on the afternoon of May 31st. A running fight followed northward; at seven the battleships met and engaged. The contest lasted till darkness closed in at nine. No decision was reached. Then Scheer by a bold movement in pitchy blackness crossed astern of the British fleet, sinking four of the rearguard destroyers and disabling three more. On his flight south he met another British flotilla and lost a battleship, but he reached home in safety. The battle was complicated, and accompanied with frightful losses, but the Grand Fleet retained command of the sea. Both on land at Verdun and at sea off Jutland the Germans had failed to secure a victory. "They shall not pass" was true

not only of the heights about Verdun, but also of the passes of Italy and the waters of the North Sea.

423. Concerted Allied Drives, June–November, 1916. — The remainder of the year 1916 was devoted to efforts on the part of all the Allies to bring the war to a close by concerted military attacks on all fronts at the same time. They hoped that the Central Powers, discouraged by failure in battle, weakened at home by danger of famine and by fear of internal revolutions, would be unable to withstand a combined offensive of this kind. An Allied military council met in Paris in March and adopted plans for common action in matters concerning the blockade, munitions, and the prosecution of the war. As a result of the lessons learned in 1915, the munitions situation had improved enormously. Under Lloyd George as minister of munitions, Great Britain was equaling Germany in her output and in the efficiency of her organization and was sending across the Channel a supply from her 2000 government-controlled factories, that surpassed each week the entire stock in the country before the war. Under the circumstances the Allies were convinced that the time had come for a general offensive, on a scale hitherto unknown, against the enemy.

So vastly had the area of war widened that there were now six fronts from which an offensive could be launched — the West, Italy, Russia, Salonica, Egypt, and Mesopotamia. Up to this time but little had been done either at Salonica or in Egypt, but in Mesopotamia an ill-advised advance up the Tigris had resulted in the capture by the Turks of Gen. Townshend with a small British expeditionary force in November, 1915. The Allies were now ready to strike at all these points, in a series of offensives simultaneously directed.

At first the results were encouraging. The Russians entered the Bukowina and on June 16 occupied Czernowitz, ready to force the passes of the Carpathians north of Transylvania (June–August). On August 27 Rumania, confident that Russia's success would be permanent, joined the Allies. On

August 9 the Italians, advancing from the Trentino front, captured Gorizia and gained a foothold on the Carso plateau. In July the British and French began the battle of the Somme, and with the aid of terrific artillery fire, the use of armored motor trucks with caterpillar treads, known as "tanks," and hundreds of airplanes, which though long a part of every battle were here employed with extraordinary success, drove back the Germans for a space of about seven miles. The contest was continued in successive waves of attack through September and on the part of the French into November; and though the territory gained was relatively small, the prolonged offensive compelled the Germans to concentrate their entire attention on the Western front and brought upon them enormous losses in killed and wounded. The casualty lists of both Germans and Austrians were beginning to assume ominous proportions, and the world was wondering how long the Central Powers could stand such losses of men.

Then the tide of success turned. Gen. Mackensen attacked Rumania in September and in an extraordinarily short time overran the greater part of the country. Russia, already suffering from an incompetent and corrupt administration at home, did little to help, and the Allied forces at Salonica under Gen. Sarrail, upon whom Rumania counted for a diversion against Bulgaria, were not only unprepared and insufficient in numbers, but were held back by fear of Greece, who threatened attack from the rear. Rumania, isolated and dependent solely upon her own strength, collapsed, and Mackensen entered the Rumanian capital, Bucharest, on December 6. These German successes in the southeast were somewhat offset by a French victory at Verdun (October–November), where Gen. Mangin in a furious counter-attack recovered some of the most important strategic points that the Germans, at terrific cost, had gained earlier in the year. Much as Germany might accomplish in the East, she was making no progress in the West, and it was in the West that the final victory was to be won.

424. Germany's Submarine Policy. Entrance of the United States.[1] — For the moment the Allies were disheartened. In England Asquith resigned because of bitter criticism by the *Times* and other newspapers under Lord Northcliffe's control,

"MIDDLE EUROPE."

As it existed, 1916–1918. The territory lightly shaded is that surrendered by Russia at Brest-Litovsk, December, 1917.

and Lloyd George, who became prime minister and minister of war, formed a coalition cabinet, with a war committee of five

[1] Before 1918 war was declared against Germany by Russia, France, Great Britain, Italy, Belgium, Japan, Serbia, Montenegro, Portugal, Rumania, the United States, Cuba, Panama, China, Brazil, Siam, Liberia, and Greece. In 1918 Costa Rica, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, and Nicaragua did the same. Bolivia, Ecuador, Peru, Santo Domingo, and Uruguay severed diplomatic relations but did not declare war. Holland, Spain, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, Persia, Mexico, Paraguay, Venezuela, United States of Colombia, Chile, and Argentina remained neutral.

members (December 6). Germany, believing that the Allies were ready to consider peace, made advances in various directions but without the slightest success, for the Allies had no confidence in the peace overtures of a power that was occupying enemy territory and extending widely its control over the lands to the eastward in order to lay the firm foundations of a Germanized "Middle Europe."

Failing to end the war by victory in battle or by peaceful negotiation, the German government listened favorably to the persuasions of the military and naval leaders who for some time had been urging the use of the submarine as a certain means of success. Bethmann-Hollweg at first favored this Pan-German policy of unrestricted submarine warfare, and consequently on January 31, 1917, the government issued a note announcing that from February 1 all vessels, whether neutral or belligerent, would be sunk at sight, if found within certain prescribed areas adjoining Great Britain, France, and Italy, and in the eastern Mediterranean.

By this ruthless violation of the freedom of the seas, Germany succeeded in stirring to its depths the resentment of the American people and in uniting all classes and sections of the United States in a grim determination to end forever this menace to the peace of the world. On February 3, 1917, von Bernstorff, the German ambassador at Washington, was given his passports; on April 2 President Wilson, in an address of great force and dignity, advised Congress to declare war; and on April 6, after both houses had adopted a declaration of war, issued a proclamation announcing that a state of war existed between the United States and the Imperial German Government.

Though a peaceful people and ill-prepared for war, the Americans had enormous wealth and endless resources, a large fleet, the material for an army of thirteen millions of men, and infinite courage and tenacity. The entrance of the United States into the war not only brought new vigor, new enthusiasm, and new ideals into the conflict, but also heartened the jaded

Allies who had for two and a half years borne the brunt of the fighting, and were weary, discouraged, and war-spent. The only doubt that lay in the Allied minds, — and it was the doubt that decided Germany in the adoption of her undersea boat policy, — was whether the United States could raise and train an army and transport it when trained across three thousand miles of a submarine-infested ocean in time to save the Allies from what Germany believed to be certain defeat.

425. The Russian Revolution. — For the moment the situation looked ominous. In March, 1917, a revolution broke out in Petrograd (St. Petersburg), the Czar, Nicholas II, was compelled to abdicate, and a provisional government was established. At first this uprising was welcomed by the Allies and the United States as the overthrow of autocracy and the bringing of Russia into line with the democratic states of the West; but as summer came on the conditions grew steadily more disturbing. The provisional government of the moderate middle class gave way under pressure from the radicals, until finally the Bolsheviki, led by Lenin and Trotsky, who belonged to the extreme socialist group, seized the power and established a dictatorship of the proletariat, a minority element, working through "soviets," or committees of workmen, soldiers, and peasants. The result was twofold: first, the Russian army at the front went to pieces and Russia ceased to be of value to the Allies as a military power; and secondly, in December, 1917, at a gathering of German and Bolshevik representatives at Brest-Litovsk, east of Warsaw, the Bolshevik government made peace with Germany and permanently retired from the war.

426. Unrestricted Submarine Warfare. — While Russia was thus deserting the Allies and passing into a state of chaos and anarchy, Germany was testing her policy of frightfulness at sea. From February to July, 1917, the submarines reaped a fearful harvest of Allied and neutral merchant vessels, causing the loss of thousands of lives and the destruction of immense

quantities of munitions and foodstuffs. But the sinking of so large a number of ships could not be maintained. From a total of 4,000,000 tons lost before July, 1917, the number decreased to 2,200,000 from July to December, to 1,150,000 from January to March, 1918, and to 950,000 from April to May.

This steady decrease betokened eventual failure. It was due in part to the skill with which the British and American navies patrolled the seas and protected their commerce, the successful use of nets, depth-bombs, convoys, airplanes, dirigible balloons, and ship-disguises and screens of various kinds, and in part to the serious difficulties which Germany encountered in building, refitting, and manning her undersea boats. By the end of 1917 it was everywhere conceded that the submarine policy was but another of Germany's blunders, and that her atrocious weapon had turned in her own hand. The British people were not only unbroken in health and spirit, but were more resolute and determined than ever to pursue the war to the bitter end, while across the ocean were coming in regular succession convoyed fleets of transports carrying thousands of soldiers from America, undeterred by submarine and equally resolute to play their part in the war for democracy and humanity.

427. Allied Victories in the West, 1917. — Though Russia was lost, the United States was taking its place as a working and fighting partner with the Allies, and with boundless energy and unexpected rapidity was preparing itself for war. Already had the government loaned the Allied powers nearly ten billions of dollars ($9,600,000,000) and now continued its dispatch of munitions, provisions, grain, and clothing in ever-increasing quantities. Before midsummer it had sent Admiral Sims with a fleet to join the British in British waters and Gen. Pershing with a contingent of regulars to aid the Allies in France. By December there were on French soil 250,000 American soldiers. The welcome that these men received testified to the war-

weariness of England, France, and Italy and to the joy everywhere felt at this visible evidence of America's determination to take part in the winning of the war.

In the meantime the Allies were making substantial gains along the Western front. The war of attrition had been going steadily on and plans were under consideration for another smashing offensive against the German lines. In previous attacks the French and British had broken the lines at many points, creating, here and there, salients, or projecting angles, that were difficult for the Germans to defend.

Consequently Gen. Hindenburg, who had been made chief of the German army staff in August, 1916, resolved to withdraw to a stronger system of trenches, which had long been in process of construction, and which, though given various names by the Germans themselves, came to be known among the Allies as the Hindenburg Line. His object was in part to straighten the line and to shorten it, getting rid of the salients, and in part to anticipate the Allied offensive and to compel them to attack in open ground, already waste and desolate.

The Allies accepted the challenge, and believing that the withdrawal was a confession of weakness, began a concerted advance. On March 17 Gen. Haig with the British and Gen. Nivelle with the French entered on their pursuit of the retreating Germans. In the battle of Arras (April–May) and in the battle of the Aisne (April 16–20) Haig and Nivelle gained ground, and further fighting by the British at Ypres and Arras, and of the French at the Chemin des Dames and Laon and in October at Soissons and Verdun disclosed the Allied determination to win a decision if possible.

In this succession of great battles in Flanders, at Arras, on the Aisne, and at Verdun, accompanied by terrific artillery barrages, mine explosions, the use of tanks, airplanes, and gas, and furious attacks and counter-attacks, English, Irish, Australians, New Zealanders, Canadians, and French smashed into the German defense, occupied many square miles of terri-

tory, and captured thousands of prisoners. But they were unable to win a positive victory or to drive the Germans beyond the Hindenburg Line.

428. Allied Victory in the East. Greece. — While the Allies were driving the Germans back upon the Hindenburg Line, encouraging signs of eventual victory were appearing in the East. At the beginning of the year, Gen. Maude, moving up the Tigris, avenged the defeat of Townshend in 1915 by capturing Bagdad (March 10, 1917) and occupying Mesopotamia. On June 12, in Greece, the Allies forced the pro-German king, Constantine, to abdicate in favor of his son, Alexander, and with Venizelos, the greatest of Greek statesmen and a friend of the Allies, as prime minister, brought Greece at last into line with the enemies of the Central Powers. With Greece friendly and united, a forward move from Salonica against Bulgaria was certain to be made in the near future. The situation in Egypt was materially simplified when the year before (November, 1916) Husein, sherif of Mecca, revolted from the Ottoman Empire, set up the independent state of Hedjaz (Arabia), and aided the British in their efforts to advance into Palestine. As a result, Gen. Allenby captured Jerusalem on December 10, 1917, and amid the rejoicings of the Christian World ended the rule of the Turks in the Holy Land.

By the spring of 1918 the shadow of discouragement had begun to lift, hope was in the air, strong men were in political command — Clemenceau in France, Orlando in Italy, Lloyd George in England, where the pacifist Henderson had resigned from the War Cabinet, and in America Wilson, whose Fourteen Points, issued on January 8, 1918, became the platform of the Allies during the remainder of the war.

429. Germany's Last Effort. The Great Drives. — Germany was as blind as were the Allies to the signs of the times. Ignoring the manifest weakness and lukewarmness among her allies — Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey — and the unsubstantial character of all her Eastern conquests, she believed

that the time had come to complete her work by one final effort in the West. Her leaders thought that Italy was defeated, that France was bleeding to death, that Great Britain was at the end of her resources and facing starvation, and that the United States would not be able to enter the war for another year. They resolved to strike at once and with all their might, and both Field Marshal Hindenburg and his efficient colleague, Gen. Eric Ludendorff, promised the German people that this time they would be successful.

The series of battles or " drives," begun on March 21, 1918, with an attack on the British line in Picardy, was perhaps the greatest military encounter in all recorded history, because of the numbers engaged on both sides, the fury of the onsets, the stubbornness of the defense, the devices of war employed, and the issues at stake. On the 21st the Germans struck between Arras and the Oise, where the British under Gen. Byng and Gen. Gough were holding the line, in a measure unprepared for the attack that was coming. Forced to give way, they retreated in good order, contesting every inch of the ground, until, with the aid of French reënforcements, they brought the Germans to a standstill. By March 26 the drive was over, the Germans had gained a large amount of territory and captured many prisoners, but the " infiltration " plan had not been successful, the British line was intact, and Amiens, the German objective, was still beyond their reach.

Again the Germans struck, this time farther north, between Arras and Ypres, and again the British gave way, fighting during three heartrending weeks with stubborn determination, making the Germans pay heavily for every inch of ground they won, until in the old fighting region of Passchendaele and Messines ridges and Mt. Kemmel, the final test was made. The Germans succeeded in occupying Mt. Kemmel, but there the men of the thin British line with their backs to the wall held the day and the Germans advanced no farther. Ypres was not taken.

When in March the Allied leaders saw that Germany was preparing for a final spring, they realized that nothing should be left undone to meet it. At the opening of the drive, Gen. Pershing, with self-effacing promptness, placed the American troops that were in France at the service of the Allies, and a few days later at an Allied conference held near Amiens (March 25), while disaster threatened the Allied arms, the all-important decision was reached to place Gen. Ferdinand Foch at the head of all the Allied forces, and so to bring all the Allied movements under the command of a single head. At the same time new efforts were made to increase the reserves. American troops were arriving each month, in constantly increasing numbers — more than half a million were ready in April and more than a million in July; and on April 8, England adopted an unlimited conscription act, which, though it brought on trouble with Ireland and embittered still further the relations between the two countries, showed that despite all the difficulties involved, England was determined to win.

General Ferdinand Foch.
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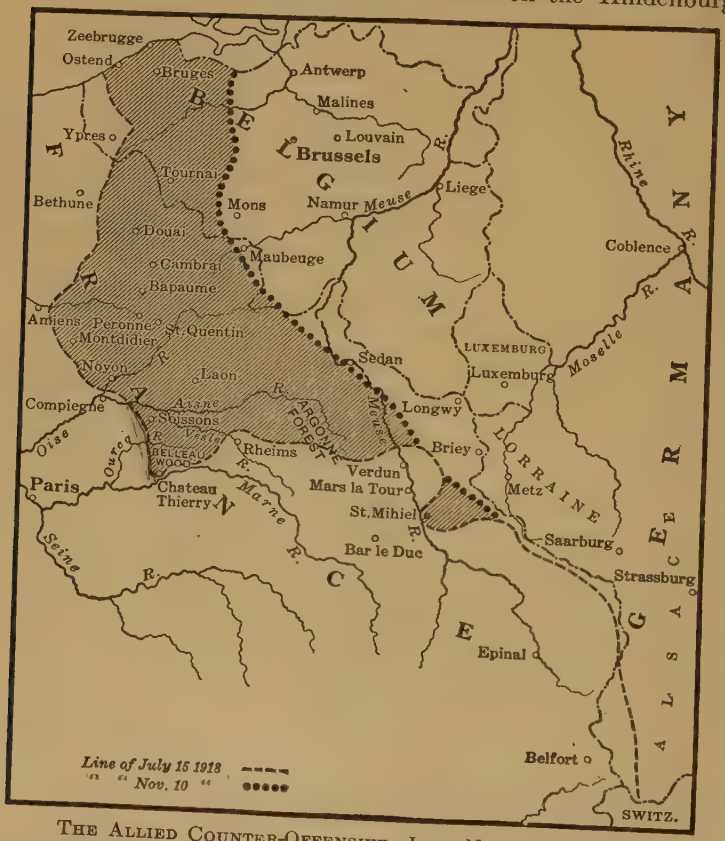
Germany's next great effort was against the French on the Aisne and the Oise, May 26–29, and progressed much as had the drives against the British in the north. Relentlessly and irresistibly, the French were driven back in three days of terrific fighting until the Germans stood again on the Marne at Château

Thierry and on the Oise at Noyon, and were nearer Paris than at any time since 1914. The situation looked ominous. Could they widen their gains to include Rheims on one side and Compiègne on the other? If they could, nothing could save Paris. But they never did. Every attempt made from June 6 to June 13 to extend their gains on the flanks failed of success, and a final onslaught on Rheims, June 18, ended in failure. At fearful cost the Germans had gained ground, but nowhere had they broken through or seriously weakened the Allied lines. It was a matter of serious import that on June 6 they had been even compelled to fall back for a short distance at Château Thierry, and that, too, before a body of French and Americans who drove them across the Marne. This coöperation of the Americans at a singularly opportune moment and their successful appearance as a fighting force at what appeared to be the high-water mark of the German offensive was an incident of first-class importance.

430. Allied Counter-Offensive. — Trusting in the ability of the American troops, which were now arriving regularly and in large numbers, not only to serve as a great reserve force but also to take their places on the firing line with the veterans of France and England, Gen. Foch, on July 18, ordered an advance. With new confidence and undiminished ardor, the Franco-Americans under Gens. Mangin and Degoutte attacked the western side of the German line from the Aisne to Château Thierry. Their success was immediate. The Germans fell back in retreat and on August 3 Soissons was taken. From this time the Germans, bitterly resisting along every mile of their line, were gradually forced back upon their defenses. Their reserves were gone, their munitions and supplies were diminishing, and their soldiers, broken in morale, were losing confidence in their commanding officers.

Foch's offensive in the second battle of the Marne and his capture of Soissons were followed almost at once by a general movement all along the Allied line. On August 18 the British

and French under Gens. Rawlinson, Byng, and Debeney assailed the German line in Picardy, Plumer struck near Ypres in Flanders, while Mangin continued his assaults on the Aisne. By September 1 the Germans were back on the Hindenburg



THE ALLIED COUNTER-OFFENSIVE, JULY–NOVEMBER, 1918.

Line, having lost all that they had gained since March and suffered casualties amounting to hundreds of thousands of men.

On September 12 the first independent American army began a major operation of its own by smashing in the St. Mihiel

salient, which had been in German hands since the beginning of the war. Later in September the whole Allied line again made a concerted advance. Belgians, British, British-French, French, French-Americans, and Americans, driving hard and steadily, attacked and crossed the Hindenburg Line, the Americans playing a brilliant part in the Argonne and along the Meuse, where the extraordinarily strong defenses and the hundreds of machine-gun " nests " made progress slow and costly.

The Germans fought with the courage of despair, hoping to resist defeat and capture. But they could not stem the Allied advance, and by November 1 were driven almost entirely out of Belgium and France. King Albert recovered his kingdom, the British were approaching Mons, — the starting point of their famous retreat, — while the French and Americans were forcing their way down the valley of the Meuse, threatening to cut off the German retreat. At last the Germans realized that if they were to be saved from complete disaster they must sue for peace.

431. Collapse of the Central Powers. — While Gen. Foch was directing the concerted attack along the Western front, he was watching with understanding and readiness the situation in Italy, Salonica, and the farther East. With preparations made and a well-supplied army in hand, he ordered Gen. d'Esperey to move from Salonica northward against Bulgaria. On September 14 the advance was begun and in less than two weeks the Serbians, French, British, and Greeks, who made up d'Esperey's army, had overrun Macedonia and occupied southern Serbia and part of Bulgaria. On September 30 the Bulgarian government sued for peace; on October 4 the crafty King Ferdinand abdicated and fled; and within a month all Serbia was in Allied hands, the Danube reached, and the Teuton state of " Middle Europe " had vanished in thin air.

On the heels of the Balkan victory came success to Italy. On October 24 Gen. Diaz struck the Austrian army along the Piave and drove it back in headlong flight. Austria collapsed,

November 3. At the same time Gen. Maude on the Tigris and Gen. Allenby in Palestine and Syria set their troops in motion, the one capturing Aleppo on October 26 and completely disorganizing the Turkish troops, the other seizing Mosul about the same time and coming into undisputed control of the whole Mesopotamian region. In the face of these three advancing forces, in Macedonia, Syria, and Mesopotamia, Turkey signed an armistice and withdrew from the war (October 30).

Germany was now without an ally. Defeated at every point on the Western front, her people frantic with fear of impending invasion and seething with the spirit of revolt, she bowed to the inevitable and on November 11, 1918, at five o'clock in the morning, accepted and signed the terms of an armistice, to begin at 11 A.M. on that day. The greatest of wars was over.

432. Treaty of Versailles, June 28, 1919. — On January 18, 1919, there gathered at Paris representatives of 27 states and five British dominions, 70 authorized delegates in all, to consider terms of peace. There they remained for nearly four months, their leaders — at first an executive steering committee, the members of which represented the United States, England, France, Italy, and Japan, and, after March 24, the "Big Four," Clemenceau, Lloyd George, Wilson, and Orlando, aided by experts — engaged in the extraordinarily difficult task of formulating terms of peace to meet the situation created by four years of war and the defeat of Germany. The same "Big Four," in whom all real power finally rested, also drew up the plan of a League of Nations, wherewith to create a new international organization, for the purpose of maintaining peace and preventing future wars and, in many important specified particulars, of promoting the general welfare of civilization.

On May 7 the text of the treaty was ready for signatures. As the Kaiser, William II, had abdicated, November 28, 1918, and a democratic republic had been set up in Germany, the German delegates represented the new government. These delegates, demurring to the hard terms of the treaty, prolonged

the discussion, and it was not until June 28 and the sending of a second set of delegates that the treaty was finally signed. This act was the more humiliating for Germany in that it took place in the Hall of Mirrors of the royal palace of Versailles, where in 1871 William I of Prussia had been proclaimed German Emperor. The short-lived German Empire had had in reality but

THE "BIG FOUR."
Lloyd George, Orlando, Clemenceau, Wilson.

two emperors: William I, who established it under the guidance of Bismarck, and William II, who lost it in aiming at world dominion. The treaty was finally ratified on July 7 by the German National Assembly sitting at Weimar.[1]

433. Position of Great Britain after the War. — By the treaty of peace Great Britain and her dominions secured important accessions of territory, either in the form of actual

[1] Austria made peace with the Allies, September 10, 1919; Bulgaria, November 27, 1919; Hungary, June 4, 1920; and Turkey, August 10, 1920.

additions or as "mandataries," that is, territories which they held in a sort of trusteeship. Australia received certain islands in the Pacific, south of the Equator; New Zealand, Germany's part of Samoa; the Union of South Africa, German Southwest Africa; Great Britain herself, parts of Togoland and Kamerun, and, as a mandate, the greater part of German East Africa, which she renamed Tanganyika Territory. Two small provinces in the northwest, adjacent to the Congo, were assigned as a mandate to Belgium. During the war, when Turkey was the ally of Germany, Great Britain had abrogated all Turkish rights in Egypt, and on December 18, 1914, had declared that land a British protectorate. Shortly before, November 5, she had formally annexed Cyprus, and in 1919 by agreement brought Persia within her sphere of influence. Thus the territorial range of the empire was materially increased and, especially in Africa, to its advantage, for by the mandate of German East Africa Great Britain secured control of a section of African land that in German hands had blocked her path from Egypt southward to Cape Town and prevented her from completing her Cape to Cairo railway.

More important even than accessions of territory was the effect of the war upon the Empire itself. The shock of German attack, instead of breaking the empire into pieces, had welded it together more firmly than before. The response of the colonies to the mother's call disclosed two things: first, that the loyalty to the mother land of all parts of the British world was deep-seated and unshakable; and secondly, that the "empire" was in reality not an empire at all, but a partnership of nations, each of which had poured out its blood and treasure, not because of any binding obligation to do so, but because of pride in the connection with Britain and of devotion to the ideals and purposes that were common to all members of the British world.

434. Attitude toward Egypt and India. — The strength of the British Empire lay in its elasticity and adaptability. Freedom

THE
BRITISH EMPIRE
1920.
British Possessions
Railways
ARCTIC OCEAN
PACIFIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH AMERICA
SOUTH AMERICA
GREENLAND
ALASKA
UNITED STATES
CANADA
AUSTRALIA
NEW ZEALAND
Longitude 100° West from 80° Greenwich

C. Vienna
PETERMANN LD.
K. OSCAR LD.
WILLIS LD.
Queen Victoria Sea
FRANZ JOSEF LAND
WILCZEK LAND
ALEXANDRA ZICHY LD.
NTH. EAST LAND
ELMWOOD
KING CHARLES LAND
EDGE I.
HOPE I.
ARCTIC OCEAN
C. Mauritius
C. Taimur
C. Chelyuskin
LONELY I.
BARENTS SEA
BEAR I.
NOVA ZEMBLA
Kara Sea
TAIMUR PENINSULA
Khatanga Bay
ANJOU OR N. SIBERIA
BENNETT I.
HENRIETTA I.
JEANNETTE I.
KOTELNOI
NEW SIBERIA
LIAKOV IS.
Yanak R.
Anabarsk
Khatangsk
North C.
Cape Chelyuskin
Ust Yansk
Russkoe Ustie
WRANGEL I.
Dudinsk
ARCTIC CIRCLE
N. Kolimsk
Archangel
Obdorsk
Beresov
Jigansk
SIBERIA
Yakutsk
Ghijiga
RUSSIAN EMPIRE
Tobolsk
Yeniseisk
Okhotsk
Sea of Okhotsk
Bering Sea
Riga
Nijni Novgorod
Omsk
Tomsk
Krasnoiarsk
Barnaul
Irkutsk
L. Baikal
Nikolaevsk
Petropavlovsk
SAGHALIEN
C. Lopatka
Odessa
Aralsk
L. Balkash
CHINESE MONGOLIA
Sea of Aral
Tashkend
Khabarovsk
Sea of Japan
Tokio
HONDO
NORTH PACIFIC OCEAN
Yokohama
Nagasaki
SHIKOKU
KIUSHIU
Shanghai
KIU KIU IS.
BONIN IS.
TROPIC OF CANCER
TURKESTAN
Bokhara
Merv
Teheran
Bagdad
Kabul
Peshawar
PERSIA
TIBET
Lassa
CHINA
Hongkong
Delhi
Karachi
Calcutta
Bombay
Madras
Manila
LUZON
PHILIPPINE IS. (U.S.)
MARIANNE OR LADRONE IS.
MARSHALL IS.
Arabian Sea
Bay of Bengal
ANDAMAN IS.
NICOBAR IS.
CEYLON
MINDANAO
BORNEO
CAROLINE IS.
MALDIVE IS.
MOLUCCAS
GILBERT IS.
EQUATOR
SUMATRA
CELEBES
NEW MECKLENBURG
SALOMON IS.
ELLICE IS.
CHAGOS IS.
KEELING OR DUCIES IS.
JAVA
CHRISTMAS I.
TIMOR
LOUISIADE ARCH.
Coral Sea
FIJI IS.
INDIAN OCEAN
MADAGASCAR
RODRIGUEZ
MAURITIUS
BOURBON
N. W. Cape
AUSTRALIA
Brisbane
NORFOLK I.
LORD HOWE I.
Perth
Albany
Adelaide
Sydney
Auckland
NEW ZEALAND
Melbourne
Hobart
Wellington
Dunedin
Invercargill
BOUNTY
ANTIPODES I.
CAMPBELL I.
MACQUARRIE I.
Port Elizabeth
East London
Durban
AMSTERDAM
ST. PAUL
CROZET IS.
KERGUELEN IS.
HEARD I.
ROYAL COMPANY IS.
ENDERBY LD.
WILKES LAND
Longitude 80° East from 100° Greenwich 120°
BORMAY & CO., N.Y.

and local self-government for all those peoples that were ready were the foundations upon which it was built, and with these principles unimpaired, there was no inclination among the great dominions to sever their connection with the mother country. The sense of a common historical past, the feeling of kinship, and the realization of strength in unity formed unbreakable bonds.

That the British government was prepared to extend the privilege of self-government to any of its colonies, dependencies, or protectorates that was competent to exercise it, became evident after the war. In 1919 it conferred upon Malta the right to govern itself, and in 1920, on the recommendation of the Milner commission, appointed to consider the situation in Egypt, began negotiations looking to the independence of that country and the drafting of a constitution which should define the powers of the Khedive and of a responsible native ministry and assembly. Under the new arrangement England herself was to retain such privileges as would safeguard the merchants, protect the Suez Canal, and defend Egypt against foreign aggression.

Toward India its attitude was extremely sympathetic. Already had Sir Edward Montagu, the colonial secretary, and Lord Chelmsford, the viceroy of India, in a remarkable report, recommended a form of modified home rule for that country, whereby Indians should be associated with every branch of the Indian administration. The signal service of Indian princes and people to the empire during the war revealed a temper and loyalty so marked that in 1919 the British government determined at once to extend self-government as far as it was possible and desirable to do so, with the idea of granting gradually but eventually responsible government similar to that exercised by the dominions. In 1917 commissions were issued to Indian officers who had served with distinction in the war, and in 1919 a bill was passed by parliament and became a law whereby the voters in India were increased from 33,000 to 5,179,000, and a

considerable measure of self-government granted. The old absolute control was abolished, a new era for India opened, and that dependency took its place as an integral member of the British commonwealth of nations, and was represented in all imperial conferences, with an adequate voice in foreign policy and foreign relations.

435. New Status of the British Empire.—Great Britain had emerged from the war the strongest naval and colonial power in the world, knit together in all its parts with a strength tested by mutual suffering, loss, and bitter conflict. It was no longer an empire, but a commonwealth of nations, in which the mother country stood to the great dominions and India, not as a superior or even as a head but as a senior partner in a great coöperative system. During the war the imperial conference, which had already met six times (1887, 1897, 1902, 1907, 1909, 1911) was enlarged as an Imperial War Conference, and side by side with the War Cabinet arose an Imperial War Cabinet for the consideration of matters concerning the empire as a whole. Upon both these boards sat representatives of the dominions and of India. Thus the unity of this widely scattered British world was preserved by two institutions common to all: first, by the hereditary kingship, approval of which was manifested during the war by expressions of loyalty to King George and after the war by demonstrations of welcome to his son, the Prince of Wales, who in 1919 and 1920 made a tour of all parts of the empire and even visited the United States; and, secondly, by a system of conferences, the character and functions of which were still to be worked out, where either in an imperial committee or imperial cabinet the common welfare of the whole British world would be preserved. Thus the British Empire entered upon a new era in its history.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE

436. General Remarks. — There are different types of government prevailing among the more important territories that to-day make up what is known as the British Empire. First and most important of all is the government of the United Kingdom, which has its seat at Westminster. The form of government there is determined by law and tradition. In the United States the constitution can be amended only in accord with the terms laid down in the written document itself; in Great Britain it can be altered at any time and in any way by parliament, which has power to repeal any act that it pleases, and to pass another that may be quite different. It can legislate for all things, great or small — disestablish the Church of England or grant Home Rule to Ireland, regulate the shipping of poultry or determine the wages of seamen.

In another respect does the British constitution differ from that of the United States. The latter, intentionally and precisely, separates the functions of government into three distinct parts — executive, legislative, and judicial, — but in the British system no such distinction prevails. For instance, the king, who is the chief executive, has legislative duties, which though formal are so important that no bill can become law without his assent; the cabinet, which is executive in origin and continues to be executive in many of its functions, has become the chief legislative factor in parliament, since no bill can pass without its approval; the ministers of the crown, whose duties are executive and administrative, sit in parliament and are responsible to it rather than to the king; the House of Lords, which is a legislative body, exercises very important

judicial functions; the Privy Council, an executive body, has its judicial committee, the highest court of appeal in the empire. Thus the three groups of powers, instead of being separated, are closely interwoven.

As was to be expected from such a history, the British constitutional system is full of survivals, contradictions, and irregularities. The king never does most of the things that he is legally entitled to do. The prime minister and the cabinet do any number of things for which they have no legal warrant. Many ministers bearing official titles do not perform the duties suggested by these titles; for example, the first lord of the treasury is rarely a lord and though nominally the ultimate head of the financial system, has in fact nothing to do with finance, and the chancellor of the exchequer, the real minister of finance, is not a chancellor and the "exchequer" of which he once was the chancellor was abolished eighty years ago. There are "boards" the members of which never sit, such as the Board of Education and the Local Government Board. Parliament has on its order book many rules which are never enforced, such as concern strangers and the publishing of debates,[1] and though unable to provide room in the chamber of the House of Commons for more than 350 members it has increased its membership to 615. In some ways most interesting of all is the survival of the old Anglo-Norman phrases used in the formal procedure of the houses. In assenting to a bill the king still uses the words *Le Roy le veult* and when a bill is ready to be sent from the Commons to the Lords, the phrase is *Soit baillé aux seigneurs*.[2] Privileges for which members fought and

[1] Harry Furniss, the caricature artist of *Punch*, once said that in his day parliament was so full of red tape that a man might have a seat in the reporter's gallery for an obscure journal that had ceased to exist for thirty years, while prominent papers were given no seat at all.

[2] Should the king ever veto a bill, as is never likely to be the case, he would express his dissent in the phrase *Le Roy s'avisera*. Other phrases are *A ceste bille avesque des amendemens les seignieurs sont assentus* or *A ces amendemens les communes sont assentus*. Assent to a private bill is phrased *Soit fait comme il est désiré* and to a petition of right (as in 1628, § 244)

suffered in the past have, with the decline of monarchy, lost all their meaning; forms of procedure which once had real significance are now mere matters of clerical routine; and many incidents and practices continue to survive to-day for no other reason than the Britisher's love of precedent and dislike of change. Yet it is the existence of just these little peculiarities, these unexpected contradictions between theory and practice, and these differences between the outward seeming and the actual fact that gives to the study of the British constitution a great deal of its fascination and charm.

437. The King. — George V sits upon the throne of England by virtue of the Act of Settlement of 1701 (§ 309, at end), and had he no sons his daughter could succeed him at his death and exercise as queen of England all the royal powers. He became king in 1910 immediately on the death of his father, Edward VII, for Great Britain legally cannot be without a king for an instant of time, but his coronation did not follow for more than a year. Theoretically and legally he has wide powers, both at home and over the self-governing dominions, but actually he can of his own independent will perform no constitutional functions whatever — all must be done on the advice of his ministers.

Constitutionally speaking, the king is so bound up with the British system of government that to abolish monarchy in England would lead to endless confusion. It would also affect the relations with the outlying dominions and dependencies, for the royal office is the only permanent feature of the British Empire. As an *institution* the king is therefore one of the most important and necessary parts of the British system. But as a *person* he stands in a different position. In that capacity he can exercise *influence* but not *power* or *authority*, and the extent of his influence is likely to vary with his character and

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Soit droit fait comme il est désiré. Assent to a money bill reads *Le Roy remerçie ses bons sujets, accepte leur benevolence, et ainsi le veult.* It is odd that Lords and Commons should spell "*seign*[*i*]*eurs*" differently.

strength of will. Queen Victoria, by acknowledgment of all, had a very definite influence upon governmental policy;[1] King Edward's influence, as has already been noted (§ 401), lay chiefly in the field of foreign relations; while that of George V, owing to the faithfulness with which he has performed his recognized duties,— ceremonial and social, — and to the sympathetic interest which he has displayed in the work and welfare of all his people, has increased very much popular respect for the monarchy.

438. The Privy Council. — The Privy Council, which in origin is older than parliament, used to be the king's advisory body, acting in conjunction with him as the executive head of the government, but now its place as adviser of the crown has been acquired by the cabinet. It is composed of as many natural born or naturalized British subjects as the king desires to summon, and among them are always the members of the cabinet, who in order to hold office must be privy councilors. The number is undefined, but at present is 344, peers and commoners. In nearly all cases membership is an honor, which carries with it no duties. Except on special occasions, such as occur at the beginning of a reign, when all the members assemble to hear the new king's first message, the whole body never meets. Membership carries with it the title of "Right Honorable" and the privilege of invitation (with wives and unmarried daughters) to royal balls, concerts, and analogous state functions. The members, when in official attendance,

[1] Several instances of this may be given. In 1851 the queen in a memorandum to Lord Palmerston insisted that drafts of all dispatches should be submitted to her in sufficient time for her to read them and that they should not be altered after they had received her sanction. We are told that the bill disestablishing the Irish Church (1869) was probably saved by the queen's intervention, though she personally disliked it, because she believed it expressed the will of the country. We know also that in 1871, Gladstone, unable to obtain the passage of the bill abolishing purchase of commissions in the army, advised the queen to make use of her prerogative and abolish the purchase system by royal warrant. This the queen did, revoking the warrant of 1683 recognizing the practice and issuing another, doing away with it.

wear a very smart diplomatic costume of blue and gold, with a cocked hat, an obligation that made trouble with his party for John Burns, labor member for Battersea, when as president of the Local Government Board (1905–1914) he became a privy councilor and a member of the cabinet.

439. The King's Ministers and Departments. — The king has certain high officials of state and many subordinate officials for the performance of executive and administrative business and the carrying on of the government of the United Kingdom. They may be divided into two classes, temporary and permanent. In the first class are the highest officials — heads of departments, whose position is political and who change whenever a government is overthrown and a new government comes in. In that respect they are similar to the members of the president's cabinet in the United States. Immediately under them are parliamentary subordinates or under-secretaries, who also change with the government. In the second class are those officials whose tenure is permanent, whose interests are purely administrative, and whose lives are spent in the government offices in Whitehall and elsewhere. They are the secretaries and clerks who perform, ably and efficiently, the departmental duties assigned them and who take no part in politics or parliament.

The most important ministers and departments of the crown are as follows:

The Lord High Chancellor. He is the oldest of all the king's ministers in service, the principal adviser of the crown, and the keeper of the great seal. By time-honored custom he has acquired the right to sit on the woolsack in the House of Lords and to exercise there some of the functions assigned to the speaker in the House of Commons.

The Treasury. Formerly the Treasury was a deliberative board made up of the first lord, the chancellor of the exchequer, and three junior lords, who had regular meetings and kept minutes. But now the first lord has gone into politics and is

usually the prime minister, the junior lords have also gone into politics and are to-day government "whips," performing very important duties connected with the business of the House of Commons (§ 442), and only the chancellor of the exchequer is left, as a kind of second lord of the Treasury, to serve as minister of finance.

The Admiralty. The Admiralty Board, unlike that of the Treasury, still sits as a deliberative body. As the Treasury, through the chancellor of the exchequer, wields the powers and functions of the old Lord High Treasurer, so the Admiralty, as a board, wields the powers and functions of the old Lord High Admiral. Remodeled in 1904, this board now consists of a first lord, four sea lords, and a civil lord. The first lord, who is always a navy man, is in reality a secretary of the navy and is held responsible by parliament for the conduct of his department, while the others serve as his advisers. They have administrative duties also, for the oversight of naval affairs is distributed among the sea lords and the civil lord.

The War Office. The War Office has in the past undergone many important changes, the earlier phases of which need not concern us here. In 1904, after long consideration, the office of commander-in-chief was abolished and the control of the army was intrusted to an Army Council, similar in form to the Admiralty Board, presided over by the secretary of state for war and consisting of six leading army officers, one of whom is the chief of staff. The secretary of state for war, though historically and constitutionally very different from the first lord of the Admiralty — because he is a secretary of state, and not the head of a board — is in fact very similar in obligations and functions to that official — a secretary of war as the other is a secretary of the navy. He is usually a civilian, and Lord Kitchener was the first military officer to hold the position.

The Secretariat. There are six principal secretaries of state, one each for home affairs, foreign affairs, war, dominions and

colonies, India, and air (1918). Legally, these six ministers perform the duties of one office — that of his majesty's principal secretary of state, — and whenever by act of parliament their duties are increased, they are rarely referred to by name, business being assigned to them collectively, apparently on the supposition that each is competent to do the work of any of the others. Actually, however, they constitute six distinct departments, the duties of which are well understood, and they are served by permanent staffs of secretaries, assistants, clerks, and other officials, housed each in its own quarters in Whitehall.

The Foreign Office looks after foreign affairs and has control of protectorates, wherever found. *The Colonial Office*, to which in 1925 were added the dominions, has in its hands the management of those parts of the Empire that are designated "crown colonies." *The India Office* is concerned with India, and its secretary differs from the others in having an advisory council — the Council of India, consisting of from ten to fourteen salaried members, two of whom are Indians, — which is a consultative body in all matters not requiring urgency or secrecy. Except in recommending changes in the government of India and embodying such changes in a bill to be introduced into parliament, neither the secretary nor parliament has much direct part in Indian control, such being left to the viceroy and the officials in India itself (§ 446). Lastly, we have *The Home Office*, under whose direction is a vast and somewhat miscellaneous body of domestic activities. The home secretary is the chief channel of communication between the king and his subjects of the United Kingdom, he receives addresses and petitions, has charge of naturalization and extradition, manages the police (except those of the City of London), regulates factories, mines, collieries, inebriates, and burial grounds, inspects reformatories, industrial schools, and prisons, and even keeps watch over vivisection and cruelty to animals. Under him are not only the usual departmental officials but a great many special commissioners and inspectors also.

Boards. In addition there are many boards, so called, though each is controlled by a single official — its president — and never meets as a board. These are *The Board of Works,* which has charge of the construction and maintenance of parks, palaces, and many public buildings; *The Board of Trade,* which supervises everything that concerns trade and locomotion by land and sea and under which is *Trinity House,* a famous and ancient institution, which looks after navigation, lighthouses, buoys, and beacons; *The Local Government Board,* which has general oversight of the poor law, public health, and other local government matters; *The Board of Agriculture,* which has to do with commons, allotments, drainage, forestry, horticulture, fisheries, the muzzling of dogs, and contagious diseases among animals; and lastly, *The Board of Education,* which has charge of all schools that receive public aid.

The Post Office. The post office is one of the most important of all the public departments, and because it brings in a large revenue to the state is under the control of the Treasury. But it is more than a source of income, it is a great administering organization as well. Its duties are carefully prescribed by statute, and the postmaster-general, who is the parliamentary head, has comparatively little discretion except in minor matters. He is in fact the acting manager of a great business, with the secretary of the department as the man in immediate charge, and he is accountable to parliament for his administration. Under his direction are the transmission of all mail matter, including the parcels post; savings bank business, which allows deposits of a shilling and upwards and pays interest; postal orders and money orders; postal telegraph and telephones. Through its savings department the post office has built up a very elaborate life insurance and annuity business.

440. The Cabinet. — "A certain number of these high officers of state constitute the 'cabinet' and those with others are said to constitute the 'ministry,' neither of which is known to the law." Thus wrote Maitland in 1888, and what he said

then is largely true to-day. The cabinet is not provided for by any statute and never has received formal recognition as a part of the British constitution,[1] its members are not paid for their services as cabinet ministers, its meetings are irregular and unscheduled, no record is kept of its business or discussions, its proceedings are never published, and it has no powers that are legally defined. Yet it is the most powerful executive and legislative influence in Great Britain to-day. At its head is the prime minister, who occupies a position more dominating than that of any other of the king's subjects and is selected by the king either because of his ability to lead the political party to which he belongs, which must be the majority party in parliament, or because of the public opinion of the country at large.

The prime minister selects his colleagues, though the king actually appoints them, and he can call for their resignations in the same way. His resignation has a little history of its own. Before 1832 he rarely felt obliged to resign because of an adverse vote in parliament; after 1832 and until 1867 he would have resigned only in case the adverse vote was formal, that is to say, a test vote which showed on the part of the members of parliament a lack of confidence in him as their leader; after 1867 and until 1906 he would have been expected to resign if any vote in parliament went against him; and since 1906 he has resigned, even with a parliamentary majority in his favor, when it was evident that the sentiment of the country was against him.

The officers of state who are always in the cabinet are the secretaries of state, the first lord of the Treasury, the lord high chancellor, the chancellor of the exchequer, the first lord of the Admiralty, and usually the lord privy seal. The prime minister

[1] Official recognition of the prime minister was first given in 1906, when by royal warrant his place in processions and ceremonial functions was fixed as fourth in the list, after the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord High Chancellor, and the Archbishop of York. Consequently Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman is sometimes spoken of as the 'first' prime minister.

himself has commonly held the office of first lord of the Treasury, but Gladstone was chancellor of the exchequer and Salisbury secretary of state for foreign affairs. As to the remaining members practice varies somewhat, but among them one is almost sure to find the president of the council, the presidents of the Local Government Board, Board of Trade, Board of Education, and Board of Agriculture, the attorney-general, postmaster-general, and the chief secretaries for Scotland and Ireland. Altogether there may be twenty or more in the cabinet and fifty or more in the ministry. The legal standing of all these officials depends not on their position as members of the cabinet or ministry but on their membership in the Privy Council, while their salaries are paid them for their services not as cabinet ministers but as officials under government.

The strength of the cabinet is to be found not only in its established position as the central feature of the government, but also in the peculiar position which it occupies in that government. It is executive in character, in that it controls and guides the legal executive (the king and Privy Council), and it has among its members the chiefs of the great executive departments. At the same time its members sit in the legislature, that is, in parliament, and are responsible to it. Herein lies the difference between the British and the American systems. The members of the president's cabinet in the United States do not sit in Congress; but every one of the king's ministers must have a seat in one or other of the houses of parliament. Two results follow: (1) these ministers are able in person to present their policies and defend the administration of their departments and (2) they are able to control the party machinery and hold their followers, that is, the majority, in allegiance.

441. The House of Lords. — The House of Lords, which is commonly designated the second chamber, is composed of about 680 members, including royal princes (3), archbishops (2), dukes (19), marquesses (29), earls (121), viscounts (58), bishops (24), barons (377), Scottish peers (16), and Irish peers

(28). There are also four judicial life peers, who sit to hear appeals from the common law courts. They are created peers for life, for their judgments are the judgments of the House of Lords sitting in its judicial capacity. At their head is the lord high chancellor, and to their number are added such hereditary peers as have held high judicial office.

The lord high chancellor, who is the speaker of the House of Lords, sits on the historic woolsack, a large red cushion stuffed with wool, without arms or back, but with a central back-rest, which has no platform but rests upon the floor of the house, in front of the royal thrones. As the keeper of the great seal, an office now always held by the lord high chancellor, may be a commoner, the woolsack is technically outside the limits of the house, so that when the chancellor is a peer and wishes to take part in debate he must step forward within the precincts of the house and occupy his place as a peer. As speaker he has but few powers: he has nothing to do with debate or the maintenance of order, the peers never address their remarks to him but to their fellows, and while his advice would be listened to with respect it need not be followed and he has no power to decide questions of procedure or to control in any way the conduct of the house.

442. House of Commons. — The House of Commons consists of 615 members, elected, under the conditions laid down by the Reform Act of 1918, by about 21,000,000 voters, of which number more than 8,000,000 are women (§§ 407, 408). The idea that each member should represent a single electoral district, which was put in practice by the Distribution Act of 1885, has now been discarded, and by the Act of 1918 the old method of representation by boroughs and counties has again been adopted with some modifications. The House of Commons sits for five years, unless in the meantime the prime minister appeals to the country, as he is likely to do, in which case a new election would have to be held. The house must assemble every year for three reasons: first, in order to pass the Army

Bill providing for the maintenance of the standing army, which technically exists only from year to year; secondly, to renew the Ballot Act, which provides for secret ballot in parliamentary elections and which, for some strange reason, remains in force for one year only; and thirdly, to vote the annual supply to the crown.[1]

The powers of parliament are threefold:

1. Supervisory, the oversight of administration as conducted by ministers and departments. This power is not much exercised to-day, but it is still possessed, for parliament can at any time call a minister to account.

2. Inquisitorial, the investigation, through parliamentary committees, of matters of public importance, a frequent activity that often leads to the framing and passing of bills. The reports of these committees, when printed, as they usually are, go into the Parliament Blue Books (so called from the color of their covers) and become very valuable sources of information.

3. Legislative, the passing of laws, the most important business with which parliament has to deal, and a function now controlled mainly by the House of Commons.

The two most important persons in the House of Commons are the prime minister and the speaker. The greatly increased

[1] Originally the king was expected to meet his expenses from his own resources, but in 1660 Charles II gave up all his feudal claims (§ 55) and in 1760 George III gave up nearly all the crown lands to the nation. After the latter date parliament came into control of nearly all the old hereditary revenues of the crown. In return it granted George III a fixed amount for the expenses of himself and his household, known as the 'civil list,' which in 1777 amounted to £900,000. The amount actually paid, however, came to more than this sum, for the extravagances of George III and George IV and the many public charges that were made against the civil list caused huge deficits that had to be met by parliament. Little by little the public charges were assumed by the government and the civil list reduced. Edward VII received £470,000 and George V receives the same every year. Provision for other members of the royal family comes to £146,000 more. These sums seem large, yet it must be remembered that parliament made a very good bargain when it took over the crown lands in exchange for a civil list, for the income from these lands to-day amounts to more than the sum granted the king, £520,000 as over against £470,000. In addition the king receives about £87,000 from the Duchy of Lancaster and the Prince of Wales about £80,000 from the Duchy of Cornwall, the only royal lands now remaining in the hands of the crown.

influence of the prime minister is due largely to the fact that government business, that is, measures which the prime minister and his colleagues originate, is not only given the right of way but is allowed a far greater amount of time than is granted to bills introduced by private members. In this sense the prime minister may be said to control the legislative activity of the House of Commons. The influence of the speaker is due, in chief part, to the control which he exercises over the procedure of the House of Commons.

The speaker sits in a gorgeous chair at the end of a narrow but impressive room, high ceilinged and ornate, in which twelve rows of leather-cushioned benches, rising one above another, six to a side, extend facing each other down the length of the room. The plan is that of an English chapel and is modeled after the interior of St. Stephen's Chapel, in which the house sat for 300 years, until the building was burned down in 1834. It is admirably contrived for a two-party system, the government on one side and the opposition on the other, and is specially suited for comparatively small numbers and informal debate. But it is not so well adapted to conditions as they are to-day, when there are many party groups and large numbers.

In considering the business of the House of Commons, one must distinguish between a parliament, a session, and a sitting. A parliament includes a number of sessions, a session, many sittings.[1] A parliament ends with a dissolution, a session with a prorogation, a sitting with an adjournment. The first and second are acts of the king, on the advice of his ministers, the third, the act of the House of Commons itself.

Bills are usually introduced by the government, but certain times in the week are set aside for any business that private members may wish to bring forward. When a bill is introduced it is read by a clerk and there is no debate. This constitutes the first reading. On a given day it is read a second

[1] The longest session on record lasted from March, 1893, to March, 1894.

time, and then ensues considerable discussion for and against the principle involved. If the bill passes the second reading, it is taken up in the "committee of the whole house," which is merely the house without the speaker, sitting under a chairman and governed by different rules of debate and procedure. If the bill is reported favorably out of committee, it passes to its third reading, and at this stage is likely to meet with a good deal of opposition, particularly if amendments have been added. In case the bill passes the third reading, it is sent to the House of Lords and there similarly dealt with. Should a bill originate in the House of Lords the same procedure would be followed in reverse order. When a bill has duly passed both houses, it is sent to the king for his assent, which is to-day a mere formality, sometimes given by lords commissioners who represent the crown, and sometimes by the king himself, though rarely. In either case it is given "in full parliament," that is, in the House of Lords with the Commons present. In the progress of a bill through the houses the votes after the second and third readings or in committee are usually taken by means of a division, a method peculiar to the British parliament. At the end of the debate the speaker or chairman in the House of Commons, or the chancellor in the House of Lords, puts the question and tries to determine from the volume of sound whether the ayes or the noes have it, but frequently without success. If his decision is challenged a division is taken. The members file out of the chamber, passing into a lobby on the right if they wish to vote "aye," and into one on the left if they wish to vote "no." The same procedure is followed in ascertaining the opinion of either house on any measure or motion, and sometimes the divisions are very frequent,[1] consuming a great deal of time, more than does a roll call in an American legislature.

After this brief view of the central government and administration, let us turn to the local system, to discover how far the

[1] In 1909 the House of Commons divided 918 times.

local governments reflect the principles at work in the larger field.

443. Municipalities. — The first of the local systems to be reformed was that of the boroughs or municipalities. In 1833, immediately after the passage of the first Reform Bill, a committee was appointed to investigate the borough governments, and it reported such a bewildering variety of local constitutions and such a chaos of inefficiency, mismanagement, and corruption that, even though it erred in stressing too much the abuses it found, it did succeed in startling parliament into action. As a result the famous Municipal Corporations Act of 1835 was passed to remedy the situation. This act and subsequent amendments in all their essential features were embodied in the Municipal Corporations Act of 1882, and the simple rule was laid down that the burgesses, that is, the people of a borough, should have the right to manage their own affairs by means of a local body, properly elected.

444. Counties, Districts, and Parishes. — After the passage of the Act of 1882, followed closely by the Reform Act of 1884, it was evident to all that changes must be made in the government of the remaining local bodies of the kingdom, and it followed naturally that representative democracy, which had become the basis of both municipal and central government, should become the foundation of parish and county government as well.

There were four great evils in local government as it existed before 1888. First, county government was in the hands of the justices of the peace, — the local gentry or country squires, — who in no way represented the people of the locality; and parish government was in the hands of local vestries, who formed a veritable oligarchy. Secondly, the areas of local administration were very confusing. There were the counties, the old ecclesiastical parishes, the common law parishes, and the poor law parishes. There was the poor law union, made up of a group of poor law parishes, which did not coincide with the

county. There were school districts, highway districts, and burial districts, all differing in their boundaries. Thirdly, there was a chaos of organization: different authorities, such as town councils, boards of guardians, highway boards, school boards, lighting inspectors, overseers, and the like; different dates of elections, different systems of voting, different tenures of office, different qualifications for candidates. Fourthly, there was a chaos of finance, that is, of the way in which local rates or taxes were paid.

To bring order out of all this confusion was the work of two great acts of local reform, the acts of 1888 and 1894, the first reforming the government of the counties, the second of the parishes. Their object was to extend to the counties and parishes the self-governing powers already conferred on the boroughs. By the Act of 1888 the administrative duties of the justices of the peace in the counties were taken away and intrusted to county councils, composed of members chosen directly by the rate-payers. London (except the City [1]) was erected into an administrative county by itself, with its own county council, a very impressive body of 154 members, which has authority over a wide area, including parts of Middlesex, Kent, and Surrey. By the Act of 1894, all parishes (towns or villages) with more than 300 inhabitants were to have a parish council, elected by all qualified inhabitants, and all parishes smaller in size, unless they specially demanded a council, were to be governed through parish meetings made up of as many of the qualified inhabitants as cared to attend.

Between the county councils and the parish councils a third council was established for areas known as urban or rural sanitary districts, composed of groups of parishes. These dis-

[1] The City of London, within the Bars, an area of about a square mile in extent, is the oldest institution of its kind in England, and is still governed according to its ancient forms. The County of London is 116 square miles in extent, with a radius of about 6 miles from Charing Cross. The City of London has an annual income of £250,000, the County spends £12,000,000 a year.

trict councils are popularly elected and have extensive authority in such matters as highways, sewers, and drains, removal of rubbish, infectious diseases, water supply, and to some extent education and the poor law.

With the exception of an hereditary House of Lords and of the City of London, the British institutions of government are everywhere on a representative and democratic basis. House of Commons, borough councils, county councils, district councils, and parish councils are all elected by universal suffrage. Class rule has been abolished, as far as the law and the constitution are concerned, and the only quarter in which privilege still lingers is the sphere of local justice, where the magistrates or justices of the peace are still occasionally men without legal training, though no longer drawn, as used to be the case, exclusively from the land-owning classes.

445. Government Overseas. — As we have already seen (§ 412) the British Empire is composed of a variety of parts: the dominions are the Dominion of Canada, the Federal Commonwealth of Australia, the Union of South Africa, the Dominion of New Zealand, and the Colony of Newfoundland. Each of these is a state, so large, powerful, progressive, and wealthy as to rival other states of the world and so important as to obtain (with the exception of Newfoundland and the addition of India) independent membership in the League of Nations. Each of these states has almost complete control of its own affairs, and except for a governor-general appointed by the crown is practically supreme within its own borders.

The Dominion of Canada is composed of nine provinces: Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Manitoba, British Columbia, Prince Edward Island, Alberta, and Saskatchewan. The governor-general is usually an English peer, once indeed of the royal blood, and though named by the king and sent out from England is, as executive head of the government, as free from imperial interference as if he had been born and appointed in Canada. He selects his own cabinet, which

must represent and have the support of the lower house of the Canadian parliament, and he must accept its resignation whenever it loses the confidence of that house. There is no difference, as in Great Britain, between the cabinet and the ministry, which numbers about twenty. The Dominion parliament, which sits at Ottawa, is made up of two houses — a Senate, nominated for life by the governor-general, and a House of

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Commons, which is elected by popular suffrage. The members of both houses are so named or chosen as to give to each province a proportional share, though in the lower house Quebec is always to have 65 representatives. In each of the nine provinces there is a lieutenant-governor and a legislature, which is a single house in all but Quebec and Nova Scotia, in each of which there are two houses.

The Commonwealth of Australia is composed of New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, South Australia, Western Australia,

and Tasmania. These communities differ from the corresponding divisions of Canada in that they are not provinces but states, possessing greater independence and authority, for in Australia the central government is invested with fewer executive and legislative powers than in Canada. The governors of these states are appointed directly by the crown, the laws of the states can be vetoed only by their governors and not by the federal governor-general, and each state has its own agent-general in London, in addition to the high commissioner sent by the commonwealth. In many ways they are similar to the states of the United States, particularly in possessing under the Australian constitution all powers not expressly granted to the federal government. The latter consists of a governor-general appointed by the crown, a cabinet, and two houses, one, the Senate, composed of six senators from each state elected by the people, and a House of Representatives, the members of which are also elected by the people in proportion to the population of each state. There are local parliaments in each of the states, similarly elected, with extensive powers of legislation. The capital, which is not yet built, is Canberra, destined to be a city like Washington, set apart for federal uses, the corner stone of which was laid by the Prince of Wales in 1920.

The Union of South Africa is composed of four provinces, Cape Colony, Natal, Transvaal, and the Orange Free State, none of which has a separate governor or legislature or exercises any legislative powers. In each province is an executive (provincial administrator) with a small executive council, both named by the governor-general, and a provincial council, which can make ordinances but not laws and, under the direction of the central government, can control local taxation, agriculture, and education. The provinces of South Africa have no original authority and so are less independent than those of Canada and very much less independent than those of Australia. Even within the narrow limits assigned them they

can do only what the higher authority allows them to do and their powers can be taken away from them at any time. The higher authority consists of the governor-general, appointed by the crown, who with an executive council sits at Pretoria, and a Senate and House of Assembly which sit at Cape Town. The members of the Senate are partly elected and partly nominated, — a unique feature, — while the members of the Assembly are all elected under a fairly liberal suffrage, from which all blacks are debarred except in the Cape Colony.

The Dominion of New Zealand and the *Colony of Newfoundland* are single communities without provinces, and their governments in all essential particulars are similar to those prevailing in the other self-governing dominions. Governor, cabinet, legislative council, and representative assembly are the familiar features. New Zealand allows women to vote and admits into her House of Representatives four deputies from the Maoris, the original inhabitants of the islands.

Dominion Agents in England. Each of the self-governing dominions sends to England a dominion agent or high commissioner, whose position is almost that of a colonial ambassador. These dominion representatives at the seat of empire enter into relations with the British government and with private individuals and firms, have business quarters in London that are more palatial than some of the foreign embassies, show great zeal and energy in encouraging emigration and otherwise pushing the interests of their respective countries, and receive preferred treatment at all imperial functions and ceremonies. They do a great deal to strengthen the bonds between the mother country and the dominions.

446. India. — The government of India is far too complicated for more than a very brief consideration here. Some features of it have already been discussed (§§ 434, 439). The representative of the king-emperor is the viceroy, who with an executive council of six and a legislative council of sixty-

eight, the latter partly nominated and partly elected and representing both British and native interests, sits at Delhi, the ancient Mogul capital. The legislative council makes laws for the whole of British India, but it has no part in administering these laws. Administration lies in the hands of the Indian Civil Service, a body of men selected after severe competitive examinations from candidates both in the United Kingdom and in India. These men spend the best years of their lives in the Indian service, and are faithful, efficient, able men.

447. The Crown Colonies. — There are three groups of crown colonies, classed according to their forms of government (§ 398). These groups contain all overseas territories of the Empire, except dominions and protectorates. Those of the colonies that stand highest in the list and form the first group have governors appointed by the crown, a council nominated by the governor, and an assembly elected by the people. This was the form of government possessed by a majority of the British colonies in America before the Revolution, and is enjoyed to-day by Barbadoes, the Bahamas, and Bermuda, each of which has a distinguished historical past.[1] In the second class are those with an appointed governor, a council, and a legislative council, either not elected at all or only partly so. In this group are Jamaica, British Guiana, Ceylon, Mauritius, Hong Kong, and Cyprus, with legislatures partly elected, and Trinidad, Tobago, Straits Settlement, and Sierra Leone, where the legislature is not elected but appointed by the governor. In the third group are colonies which are ruled by a governor or administrator only, such as Gibraltar and St. Helena. All these colonies are under the control of the Colonial Office, at the head of which is the secretary of state for the colonies.

448. Protectorates. — The greatest of the protectorates, Egypt, has at last received from England its independence

[1] In this class should probably be placed the island of Malta, which in 1920 was given a measure of responsible government, that went into effect in 1921. For the early history of British rule in Malta, see Lowell, *The Government of England*, II, 413–416.

(§ 434). For thirty-five years (1879–1914) it had been under the control first of Great Britain and France and then (1883) of Great Britain alone. In 1914 the latter power, renouncing the Turkish suzerainty, changed the veiled protectorate into an open one. But six years later, 1920, instead of annexing the kingdom to the British Empire, she proposed to give the Egyptians their independence under certain conditions, which when accepted would remove that country from among the lands under British control. In 1922 the protectorate was abolished.[1]

The remaining protectorates are in Africa and Asia, and the most important among them are the native states of India, which manage their own affairs but cannot make war or peace. In Africa are Nigeria, Uganda, British East Africa, Nyassaland, Somaliland, etc. Some of these, such as Southern Nigeria, are almost in the second class of the crown colonies, possessing legislative and executive councils. Properly speaking, a protectorate is not a part of the British Empire, for in most of them the native rule is upheld, native rights are maintained, and only British subjects resident there come under the authority of the secretary of state for foreign affairs.

Wei-Hai-Wei in China is not a protectorate but a portion of Chinese territory leased to Great Britain for a certain number of years. China retains full sovereignty over the territory, which by an agreement of 1922 will eventually be returned to her.

449. Conclusion. — From this brief survey of the various forms of government prevailing in the British Empire it is evident that we have been studying a very remarkable state made up in a very remarkable way. There is no political organization in the world like it, composed as it is of many parts scattered throughout the world, on island and continent, differing enormously in size, race, and degree of civilization, and

[1] Great Britain has withdrawn entirely from the control of the government of Egypt, so that the latter is to-day an independent kingdom with a constitution which was drafted in 1923. She has, however, made certain reservations in order to protect her own interests in the country.

representing all sorts and conditions of political, social, and economic life. The British make no idle boast when they point to the success with which they have met the problems of empire and to the methods whereby they are making it possible for alien races ultimately to govern themselves. That in individual instances they have incurred hostility and aroused discontent is true, but in a far greater number of cases they have won loyalty and enthusiastic support. Britain's great gift to the political science of the world is the idea of popular sovereignty through representative government, and her great gift to the political ethics of the world is her idea of justice and liberty. Tyranny and slavery do not flourish within the bounds of the British Empire. It is the identity of these ideas in Great Britain and the United States that place these two powers in the very forefront of modern civilization.

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1265 - London Parliament
2 knights from each shire
2 burgesses . . Sough
Barons and high clergy
Partisan
Temporary

1295 - Parliament of Edward I
Lower Clergy
Citizens

Canada
1867 - Cap. - Ottawa
L.G.
G.G. appointed by crown
Senate nom. for life by G.G.
H. of C. elected

Australia - 1770 - Cook
responsible gov. 1900 Commonwealth
dom. agents
gov. gen.
Sen.
H. of R. } elected

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Federal - Strong gov.
Gov. Gen. app. by crown
Exec. Council
Sen. El. + Nom.
H. of Ass. El.
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